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THE

POLITICAL

AND

COMMERCIAL WORKS

Of that celebrated Writer

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

Relating to the

TRADE and REVENUE of ENGLAND,
The PLANTATION TRADE,
The EAST-INDIA TRADE,
And AFRICAN TRADE.

Collected and reviſed by

Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH,

Member of Parliament.

To which is annexed a copious INDEX.

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ſome propoſals for ſettling the ſame, by act of parliament, upon the foot of an excluſive joint-ſtock, as being, for many pregnant reaſons, conceived to be the only conſtitution which can properly be adapted to the nature and peculiar circumſtances of that trade, ſo as to preſerve and carry it on to a national advantage — — — — 332

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ESSAYS

ESSAYS

UPON

PEACE AT HOME,

AND

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SECT. XIII.

Of the Executive Power.

THIS is indeed a copious ſubject, as comprehending all the ſeveral parts of government, except the legiſlature. Our conſtitution lodges the executive power originally in princes, who devolve ſuch functions of it as they cannot perform in their own perſons, upon the different members that compoſe a well-ordered commonwealth, of which the chief are called miniſters of ſtate; a name given in our records to the prime officers of the crown above three hundred years, though it has been caviled at of late.

In a government of the laws, and not of men, princes are a part, but at the head of the legiſlature, and either in perſon, or by their miniſters, execute what the conſtitution requires, what the legiſlature already has ordained, and what it enacts from time to time upon new emergencies; and where all this is fully done, the adminiſtration is compleat.

In theſe ſort of conſtitutions, he who receives a great truſt has it committed to him in a fair and ample manner; he is free to purſue the dictates of his own reaſon and underſtanding; he is at liberty to make the laws the rule of his actions; and he is not bound to follow the bare command and pleaſure of the Prince, which he cannot plead in abatement, if the ſtate be damaged by his proceedings.

But all this goes otherwiſe in an abſolute monarchy, under which there is no legiſlative authority but the Prince's will; he may have ſome ſlaves whom he ſtiles his miniſters, but, as was ſaid of Lewis the eleventh, "One mule carries him and his whole privy-council." Such as he employs are not allowed to judge for themſelves what is right or wrong, they muſt oftener do what will pleaſe, than what is juſt and fit; and they muſt arrive at this knowledge, that blind obedience is the beſt ſkill in courts, where the maſter is, or would be, arbitrary.

And yet, where all ſtoop to the unbounded will of a ſingle perſon, the executive power often proceeds well, and the goverment ſeems to flouriſh; but this happens when they have ſome Prince of more than common abilities upon the throne, who looks into all himſelf, and who is willing to let the weight of empire lie moſt upon his own ſhoulders; and if, at the ſame time, he chances to be a man

man of virtuous inclinations, as well as of deep wiſdom, and is content, for the good of his people, to labour in the duties of his kingly office, to ſee with his own eyes, hear with his own ears, and to perform in his own perſon as much as poſſible, and takes care to entruſt the remainder of his buſineſs to the ableſt hands that can be found, his affairs of ſtate will go well in general, and ſuch a Prince will make his country proſper.

Whether the government be abſolute, or limited, the happineſs of its people depends very much upon their care that ſit at helm, who, with ſome colour, may throw off from themſelves, upon their maſter, male-adminiſtration, when his pleaſure is the ſtandard of good and ill; but they are left without excuſe, when, by the nature of the conſtitution, they are not hurried into bad meaſures by fate and neceſſity in politicks, but are left to free-will and choice, are allowed the lights of reaſon, and have full liberty to avoid the wrong and take the righter courſe. If ſuch err out of ignorance, it is a ſort of plea, but not to be allowed when their miſtakes are groſs and frequent; if wilfully, they have no pretence to complain when they are attacked, and fall under publick cenſure.

It has been a queſtion among ſome, whether is moſt eligible, a tyranny adminiſtered with univerſal care by thoſe who rule, whereof there have been and are examples, or a free ſtate wherein all the parts of government are totally neglected, of which likewiſe many inſtances may be given.

Under arbitrary power, ſkilfully managed, the people, though oppreſſed at home, are protected from their enemies abroad; they groan under heavy taxes, but are brought to think they enjoy ſomething for them; fame, victories, and an en-

largement of their dominions; they are injured by the exceſſes of tyranny from above, but below are kept from hurting one another; they are poor, but contented; they have no domeſtick troubles and diſſentions; they may have foreign armies to engage with, but are in no great danger to feel the calamities of a civil war; and they are, as the patriarch deſcribes Iſſachar, "A ſtrong aſs couching down between two burthens: and he ſaw that reſt was good, and the land that it was pleaſant, and bowed his ſhoulder to bear, and became a ſervant unto tribute."

In the ſecond caſe; under a good conſtitution ill adminiſtered, that wealth, with which induſtry and trade ſeldom fail of bleſſing free countries, can never be accounted ſafe; for their riches, which ſhould protect them, bring their ruin on the faſter, and are a temptation for their neighbours to invade them, when, through bad government, they are no longer in a poſture to defend themſelves. They are rarely without factions, by which their native ſtrength is waſted; and their fury is ſometimes ſo deaf and blind, as to be ſtriving with one another for power in the very moment when dangers are moſt impending from abroad. They are expoſed to frequent civil wars, in which they loſe their nobleſt blood and braveſt men; and becoming weak, quite corrupted, and wearied out with their own domeſtick calamities, nations born to liberty are compelled, at laſt, to reſort for refuge to ſome ſuperior power: and thus have tyrannies been introduced.

But, notwithſtanding the miſchiefs to which free governments, when weakly ruled, may be obnoxious, they are ſtill preferable to unlimited authority, though placed in the ableſt and moſt ſkilful hands; for under the beſt of this ſort of Princes, the

the generality of the people are poor, oppreſſed, and without any proſpect of taſting the fruits of their own labour. Beſides, tyrannies are apt to decline from ſevere courſes into cruelty, from wiſe vigilance into jealouſies of ſtate mad and ſanguinary, from oppreſſion into down-right plunder; and it is rarely ſeen that this kind of government grows from bad to better, its natural progreſs is rather from bad to worſe; for high power is always afraid to ſet itſelf any bounds, as if it were like thoſe intoxicating drugs which loſe their operation if the doſe is not increaſed from time to time. It is true, abſolute dominion controuls parties, and is not often liable to civil wars, yet it is not exempt from mutinies in the camp, and defection in its armies: but indeed the moſt melancholy part of it is, that it is a diſeaſe that ſeldom or never mends, and conſequently deprives men of hope, which, even to the happy, is an entertainment always new and pleaſant, and to the afflicted, their moſt ſolid comfort.

They whom their own conſent has once enſlaved, are ſcarce ever known to break their fetters: if they have a ſevere government, growing worſe every day, they muſt be contented with it; to ſtruggle with their chains, fixes them on the faſter; to make commotions tends but to render their oppreſſors more cruel, vigilant, and jealous; or if they can depoſe one tyrant, they do but change him for another.

But in countries where liberty is entire, under their worſt circumſtances hope is ſtill left; whatever miſgovernment they may have had, and however embroiled their affairs ſeem to be, while ſenſe of freedom, that principle of a ſound conſtitution in the body politick, is yet remaining, and when nature is thus ſtrong within them, they may throw

off their diſtempers, and in time be reſtored to perfect health.

The moſt dangerous diſeaſes with which a free country can be infected, are two factions, each ſtrong in numbers, if their heats and animoſities are come to ſuch a height, that any ſide, in the ſtruggle for power, is willing to give up liberty, rather than their irregular appetites ſhould be diſappointed. Where this happens to be the caſe, the condition of the publick is indeed very deſperate, inaſmuch as liberty cannot ſubſiſt, unleſs where it has a great many more friends than enemies, becauſe they who attack, ſupply by craft and diligence what they want in other ſtrengths.

But where countries are thus corrupted, princes have a noble field wherein to ſhew the honeſty and virtue of their minds, by taking no advantage of the follies and madneſs into which men may be led by their ambition.

The nations round about us were inſlaved, not by the prince's ſword, but by their own flattery. It is notorious that the faction of the league, which had rebelled upon quite an oppoſite foot, gave the laſt ſtroke towards ſubverting the liberties of France, to make their court the better when they were ſubdued. After the reſtoration of king Charles the ſecond, to atone for old faults, and to vie with the church who ſhould be the beſt ſubjects, ſome were going to play the ſame game here, and, between the flatterers on both ſides, the conſtitution had probably been given up, if the old cavaliers had not then made an unexpected and ſeaſonable ſtand againſt thoſe who began the war, becauſe they thought (or pretended to think) that their civil rights had been invaded.

Where factions have been, and are ſuffered to be of long continuance in a kingdom, if abſolute dominion

dominion is not brought in, it is for want of an enterprizing temper in the Prince, or it is owing to his virtue, wiſdom, and moderation; for the tools are ready, and the fire being hot, has made the metal ſoft and malleable, ſo that he may work it into what ſhape he pleaſes.

That nation is happy, where the Sovereign gives apparent proofs of deſiring no more authority than what is intruſted to him by the laws: this puts a ſtop to the ſchemes wicked and ambitious men will be forming (if the leaſt encouraged) to introduce arbitrary power; which attempts, in a free country, are perhaps the original of all diſorder and miſgovernment. But none will ſtrive to make him abſolute who does not wiſh ſo to be; and when this ſtruggle is at an end, there is no ſubſtantial nutriment for faction to ſubſiſt on.

Executive power is, in plainer words, the adminiſtration of affairs, which can never be well adminiſtered when ſuch bad deſigns are on the anvil; and from thence, generally ſpeaking, have been derived moſt of the miſchiefs that of late years have embroiled and divided England. When national intereſt has been neglected, was it not in order to court a foreign power, which might awe the people here at home? When the proteſtant intereſt was ſtruck at, might not one of the proſpects be to make room for a religion which better prepares the minds of men for ſlavery? When the publick treaſure was waſted, did we not all ſee that a great proportion of it iſſued out to reward bold mercenaries, who made open aſſaults upon the conſtitution, or to pay pioneers, who wrought in the dark to undermine it? And thus ſecret aims at arbitrary power have had an influence, not only in theſe particulars, but well nigh in all the other male-adminiſtrations that have been complained of in this kingdom.

But when Princes have not this working and anxious thought to perplex their minds, when their miniſters have not this load to bear, and when they are not in this wrong bias, which muſt always miſlead them in their courſe, it is not ſo very difficult to go on in what is already well eſtabliſhed; nor, on the other hand, to recover a ſtate from the diſorders paſt conduct may have occaſioned: for though the cares of empire are almoſt numberleſs, yet there is no degree of compariſon between their trouble who tread in the plain way, and theirs who tread in the crooked paths of government. The principal difficulties, fears, dangers, and jealouſies, follow ſuch as carry on an illegal, falſe and corrupt, not thoſe who have no more to do but to ſupport an adminiſtration that is right and honeſt.

It is not the good, but the bad buſineſs of a ſtate, that is ſo irkſome and unpleaſant; the firſt takes up much time, requires diligence, labour, and application, but the other puts the mind on a perpetual rack; therefore an ambitious, and a wicked ſtateſman, is himſelf a more miſerable ſlave, than any of thoſe whom, by the vicious arts of policy, he would reduce to bondage; and yet, both the great and little vulgar, who look no further than at his pomp, his riches, and his power, are ſo miſtaken as to think him at the top of happineſs; whereas, in truth, the beſt, moſt unblameable, and withal, the moſt fortunate miniſter that ever ſat at helm (all his honeſt and neceſſary cares conſidered) is, in the thoughts of a wiſe man, more the ſubject of compaſſion than of envy.

Nor is the ſupreme condition of Princes ſo replete with felicity as the world is inclined to believe. What pleaſures or comforts are there in life, which thoſe in a much lower ſphere may not enjoy, as well as they who ſit on thrones? Which

of

of their moments does not the publick claim? Are they not compelled to beſtow moſt of their hours upon the buſineſs of the ſtate? Notwithſtanding what proviſion the laws have made to render their perſons ſacred, are they not in perpetual danger from the conſpiracies and attempts of wicked men? Did not an enthuſiaſt aſſaſſinate one of the beſt of Kings, ſurrounded by his guards, and in his capital city? And will not plots be ſometimes formed againſt them that are not to be reſiſted by their courage, nor avoided by their wiſdom? When misfortunes happen that reflect upon the honour of a nation, the weight almoſt ſingly lies upon the Prince; if they are ſuch as hurt a whole country in the point of intereſt, as for example, loſſes at ſea, by fire, plague, or famine, he bears the largeſt ſhare, as having the largeſt ſhare in property. The adverſities of the commonwealth affect him in chief, and he has but his bare proportion in its proſperities: add to this, that he can hardly have any private receſſes, and is allowed no private inclinations or friendſhips; that he muſt love, and hate, as moſt conſiſts with the common welfare; that all he thinks, ſays, and does, muſt center in the publick; that if he endeavours to pleaſe the good, he muſt of courſe incenſe the bad, who are numerous, active, and full of clamours; and that frequently malice enlarges his faults, and leſſens all his virtues.

When all this, and what elſe may be truly ſaid on the ſame ſubject, is well weighed, it will not appear that Princes ſo abound in happineſs as the vulgar think, or that there is much reaſon to repine at what it coſts a people to maintain the kingly office; for where this truſt is diſcharged as the laws of God and of the realm require, it fully deſerves whatever taxes are paid by the ſubject under a legal conſtitution. For

For all the hazards whereunto Sovereigns are expoſed, for all thoſe watchful cares which keep them awake, that others may ſleep with more ſecurity, they enjoy but one eſſential advantage over the reſt of human kind, and it is the power they have of doing good; this indeed is a noble prerogative, and the only jewel which ſhould make a wiſe Prince think it worth the while to wear a crown.

Private men may excel in courage, or in wiſdom, but though placed much above their fellow ſubjects, yet ſtill their power of confering benefits is, or ought to be, confined to certain limits, and they are ſtill ſo low as to have a limited proſpect; but from ſuch an eminence as is the throne, they who ſtand upright upon it, and with careful eyes look round about them, may ſee, pity, and relieve the neceſſities of human kind, of which miſgovernment is commonly the cauſe.

By extending their virtues, not at all beyond human reach, they may render millions of men happy, and ſo provide, that not many ſhall be miſerable; and where this is compaſſed, civil government is as perfect as the narrow policies of man can make it.

And Princes may bring all this about by that power of doing good which they hold from the nature of their office; and when the adminiſtration of their kingdoms is ſo ordered, that publick liberty ſubſiſts, that religion is maintained in its due reverence, that vice is diſcountenanced and piety is encouraged, that national intereſt is purſued, and national honour is conſulted, that the laws are preſerved in their vigour and juſtice in its purity, that the ſubjects are protected from their enemies abroad and kept in peace at home, that merit is amply recompenced and crimes are ſeverely puniſhed,

niſhed, that ſciences, learning, arts, trade and manufactures are favoured and promoted; in countries where all this is, and which are ſo ruled, much the largeſt ſhare of the people enjoy plenty, peace and wealth; and they proſper ſtill the more, as all theſe parts of government go on in a higher degree of perfection: ſo that this power of doing good is an unbounded pleaſure, never wanting objects, and is the only ſolid recompence God beſtows, here on earth, upon ſuch who, by his providence, are allotted to bear the weight of empire.

And when Princes ſo exert their courage, wiſdom and authority, that their people are thus well governed, they diſcharge their high truſt, and perform their part of that executive power which is veſted in them. But in regard it is impoſſible they ſhould tranſact, in their own perſons, all that appertains to right adminiſtration, they can neither render themſelves nor their nation happy, unleſs they are ſerved by honeſt and ſkilful miniſters: ſo that, to procure the laſting fame of a good and proſperous reign, it is incumbent upon them, not only to excel by their own actions, but likewiſe to chooſe well, and afterwards to ſee that none of the great officers of ſtate are defective in their duties, which ſeldom happens when they are overlooked with careful eyes.

When Princes and their miniſters of ſtate neglect nothing of what belongs to them, the ſubordinate and more miniſterial parts of government grow better of their own accord, for the maſter-wheels going right ſet the lower in a true motion; and then the whole executive power proceeds as it ought to do in a well-ordered commonwealth.

And when things have gone amiſs in a country, generally ſpeaking, the fault lay in the adminiſtration; either the Sovereign was himſelf negligent, or

or his miniſters were ignorant, careleſs or corrupt: and ſo the diſtempers taking firſt the head, ſeized the principal members, and at laſt came to ſpread over all the other parts. It is true, they who ſat at helm have been ſtill wont to charge the temper of the Prince, the nature of the conſtitution, or to lay at the doors of fortune the errors of their conduct.

The firſt is indeed a plauſible excuſe; for miniſters have a very difficult game to play when the Prince's mind has an ill turn in it, when he is unable to act of his own head, and yet is unwilling to take advice from thoſe that can ſet him right; which made Richlieu (who had ſuch an one to deal with) ſay, that he found it harder to manage himſelf in the Ruelle, than to govern all the reſt of France. However, it appears from this inſtance, that an able ſtateſman could ſo work, as, under an obſtinate and half-witted maſter, to compaſs a wiſe adminiſtration.

But miſmanagement can hardly plead in its own defence the nature of the conſtitution, of which, though ſome are more perfect than others, yet few models are ſo ill contrived, but that, as long as the rules preſcribed by them are well obſerved, they ſuffice to carry on the principal end of ſociety, which is protection; and a miniſter gives the greater proof of his ſkill, when he can under-prop a building, ſo as to make it ſtand, though its foundations are decayed, and perhaps were never ſound from the beginning.

As to fortune, it is the refuge of none but weak men to blame her, who, as Machiavel ſays, "ſhews her power where there is no prediſpoſed virtue to reſiſt her, and turns all her force and impetuoſity where ſhe knows there are no banks and no fences to reſtrain her." True wiſdom

wiſdom ſo provides, that her attacks are ineffectual, or at leaſt ſoon repairs any breaches ſhe has made; and to ſay that divers ſtates have been overthrown by the violence of fortune, is ſo far from being true, that no great empire was ever yet deſtroyed, but the very cauſes of its ruin may be traced out in its hiſtory ſeveral years before it happened.

And if it is aſked how it came to paſs, that ſo many commonwealths and monarchies have been ſubverted, the anſwer is eaſy; they did not ſink under invaſions, or periſh by foreign force, till the way to conqueſt had been firſt opened by their own miſgovernment.

But to come to particulars, and to examine into the original of theſe various miſchiefs which have diſturbed government, whence is it that there have been factions in a ſtate? In commonwealths it was becauſe they did not hold a ſtrict hand over their great ones, and took no care to keep out corruption: hereupon the manners of the common people were depraved, and they followed thoſe whom they thought moſt willing and moſt able to ſupport them in their vices; and this firſt divided Rome. In a monarchy, parties thus took their riſe; either the prince was weak, unable to exert the regal authority, and ſo private men grew upon him, and not being in a condition to ſuppreſs both, he was compelled to court firſt one and then the other ſide, as his neceſſities required, himſelf nouriſhing that diſeaſe, which, in the end, waſted his power; or, if he had falſe cunning, and meditated in his mind to overthrow the laws, underhand he encouraged parties, kept them equally poiſed, and ſuffered them to conſume their ſtrength one againſt the other, in hopes they ſhould be both ſo impaired by their mutual ſtrivings,

ſtrivings, as to be unable to give him oppoſition, and thus to become maſter of the whole at laſt.

Whence came it that countries have been ruined by not conſulting national intereſt? Either the Prince himſelf had bad deſigns, or, not being endowed with royal virtues, and deſtitute of wiſdom, he committed the adminiſtration of his affairs to unſkilful or corrupt hands.

Whence was it, that affecting arbitrary rule has ſo often thrown this kingdom into civil wars? The fault lay in the judges, who wreſted law, and made it ſerve the turns of power, and in the miniſters, who did not perform their duty in repreſenting to the Prince the danger of ſuch meaſures.

For whence have ariſen thoſe ſchiſms by which the church has been ſo often rent aſunder, but from neglect, or unſkilfulneſs, in the general adminiſtration? From neglect, when the temple was ſuffered to be profaned by the licentious living, the pride, ignorance and vices of the clergy, which might induce many to ſeparate from ſuch whoſe lives they thought were a blemiſh to their doctrine. From unſkilfulneſs, when the government has believed, that diſeaſes of long growth could admit of a ſudden cure, that, to ſharp humours, it was better to apply corroding medicines than lenitives, and that perſecution was the only way of reclaiming nonconformiſts from their errors.

What has moſt frequently been the cauſe of publick wants, but a complication of miſmanagements, as well in the prince as in his miniſters? He omitted his part, which was to overlook them, and his negligence produced their corruption; they encouraged profuſion, as getting moſt by it, and he neglected œconomy, becauſe it gave him preſent trouble. In governments ill adminiſtered,

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publick wants lead the way, but private poverty follows cloſe after; and when both happen together, which muſt always be the caſe at laſt, then is ruin near at hand.

Which way ſoever we look, when any thing has been out of order in a ſtate, generally ſpeaking, the miſchief did proceed from ſome omiſſion in the executive power, either from above, or from below; when vice abounds, the laws againſt it are not put in execution; when impiety and irreligion prevail, they have not been ſufficiently diſcountenanced; when there is an uncommon decay of trade, it is either not encouraged, or not protected; when the law is tedious and expenſive, ſome great corruption has been ſuffered to creep into the courts of juſtice; in naval matters, when good conduct and courage are wanting, negligence and cowardice have met with too much impunity. Thus, in theſe inſtances, and in many others, which have been ever the ſubjects of complaint, as at firſt they were derived from a bad, ſo they are to be corrected by a better adminiſtration of affairs.

It has been obſerved long ago, that to have but few laws is the mark of a wiſe people; of which perhaps the true meaning may be, that a wiſe people will be wiſely governed, and that, in a wiſe government, the executive power proceeds ſo well, as not to be compelled, at every turn, to call upon the legiſlature for aſſiſtance.

Some countries have proſpered many years, both in war and peace, without any written laws at all; and the greateſt part of the known world was ſo long ruled without them, that the word law (in the ſenſe now uſed) is no where to be found in Heſiod, or in Homer. Perhaps it may be ſaid, that in elder times the nature of man was not ſo depraved

depraved as it is at preſent, and that, as our vices firſt made laws neceſſary, ſo, as theſe vices increaſe, law muſt, from time to time, be more voluminous.

This is an unconteſted truth. But the chief end of government is to prevent corruptions, and the fewer there are there will be need of fewer laws: ſo that to correct the manners of men does not ſo much depend upon the law-makers, as upon thoſe who are to execute the laws already made.

But this will become clearer from an inſtance, than by arguing: as for example, the Spartans. This people flouriſhed in courage, policy, military diſcipline, and all other virtues, ſo long as they ſtrictly obſerved the laws and model of government preſcribed to them by Lycurgus, from which they deviated very little for near 700 years; during which time they were the terror and admiration of all Greece. His laws were no more than what every citizen could repeat and bear in memory, and yet they ſerved to carry on a better publick adminiſtration than was ever known: nor can it be alledged that this model was at firſt ſo perfect as to want no correction in after-times, for that would be to attribute more to him than to Moſes, a law-giver divinely inſpired; but the truth rather is, that a few laws, well obſerved, may be ſufficient for the rule of any country.

Indeed this objection lies, that he baniſhed riches from his commonwealth; that from great riches ſpring up luxury, ſtrife, ambition, intemperance, murther, treaſons, and all other vices and crimes againſt which laws are pointed; that a ſmall country, whoſe manners plenty has not corrupted, is eaſily kept to its old conſtitutions, and ſeldom ſtands in need of new reſtraints or curbs; but that, in large empires, and rich ſoils, ſtill more enrich'd by

by trade or other acquiſitions, and where vice increaſes as wealth augments, there new emergencies will daily ariſe, that, from time to time, require freſh exertions of the legiſlative power.

To all which this anſwer may be given, That it is not impoſſible to make wealth and virtue conſiſt together: it has been ſeen in particular inſtances: ſeveral private men have been both rich and virtuous: a wiſe man brings this about by ſuppreſſing his appetites and paſſions: if it is to be done by a ſingle perſon, why, by general wiſdom in thoſe who govern, is not the ſame to be compaſſed in a whole commonwealth, which is but a great body, compoſed of many individuals? why cannot the publick do that in the ſtate, which a ſingle man may do within himſelf? if the laws are an unequal match for vice, to what purpoſe are they made? But this can never be aſſerted while a ſtate ſubſiſts; therefore, when vice is not ſuppreſſed, it is by reaſon that the laws are not put in execution.

All the great nations that we read of, as ſoon as they perceived that, either by conqueſt, foreign traffick, or by means of their own product, wealth flowed in among them, they made early proviſion to reſtrain, by wholeſome laws, the two oppoſite vices, avarice and luxury, wherewith mighty empires labour, and which, as Porcius Cato ſaid, prove at laſt their ruin. "Diverſis duobus vitiis, avaritia & luxuria civitatem laborare: quæ peſtes omnia magna imperia everterunt." And while thoſe conſtitutions remain in force, the commonwealth continues uncorrupted; but when this adminiſtration is ſlackened, the people run into thoſe exceſſes by which their government is at laſt deſtroyed.

As well in great, as in leſs dominions, ſo long as old laws are maintained in their full force, vice will get ſo little ground, that new ones will be ſeldom wanted. It is certain when new diſtempers ſhow themſelves, freſh remedies muſt be applied, but ſuch emergencies rarely happen in a ſtate well governed; for the ſame Cato, in a ſpeech before the ſenate, reckons up but three inſtances, down to his time, wherein recourſe was had to the legiſlature to animadvert upon the growing avarice and luxuries of Rome, to wit, in the Licinian, the Cincian and Oppian laws: with ſo much care and wiſdom were their affairs adminiſtered.

And this Oppian law is a proof how ſtrictly their executive power proceeded. It was made to reſtrain the exceſſes of their women in jewels and apparel, but it was not like the ſumptuary laws in England and other countries, forgotten as ſoon as enacted; for though it had been eſtabliſhed in the heat of the ſecond Punic war, while the ſtate was poor, and though it almoſt levelled, in their dreſſes, the prime matrons with the vulgar, yet none preſumed to break it: but the female ſex, not brooking this ſeverity when wealth abounded, were ſtill compelled to apply to the tribunes of the people, that the conſtitution might be abrogated; which was done accordingly, though much againſt the ſenſe of Cato, who ſaw further than the reſt of the ſenate, and without doubt knew how much the repealing of one good law impaired the authority of all the reſt.

When the publick is out of order, ſtate empiricks preſcribe new laws; but, as much phyſick deſtroys the natural, ſo too many of theſe remedies hurt the political conſtitution; and, as the bodies of men are beſt maintained in health, by exerciſe, wholeſome diet, and a good regimen in living, ſo ſtates

ſtates are preſerved by active motions in the miniſterial power, by wiſe and honeſt councils, and by keeping all the diſtinct members of the commonwealth to a juſt performance of their duty.

As much phyſick viciates the blood, ſo a multiplicity of laws depraves the manners of the people, and makes them loſe that reverence to the publick, without which government cannot long ſubſiſt; for they are apt to believe their conſtitution itſelf very imperfect, when it wants ſo often to be mended. If it is faulty, it is a ſecret with which the vulgar ſhould never be made acquainted, leaſt they take in hand to give it a better form, who incline to think they have a right to intermeddle, when, above, all is out of order. But nothing can be a plainer evidence that it has material faults, than when the multitude ſee the legiſlature ſo frequently called upon to correct its errors.

It is reſpect that ſuſtains empire, and enables a few to rule the many; but this reſpect is loſt when opinion ceaſes of the few being grave, wiſe, conſtant, and almoſt infallible, for ſo, in their proceedings, they ſhould be thought; but when they ſhew marks of lightneſs, that the reſult of their councils is ſuch as muſt ſoon be altered, that their wiſdom is not ſtrong enough to root out any miſchief all at once, but are forced to pull at it a ſecond, a third time, and yet fail at laſt; that miſgovernment increaſes as faſt as the laws to prevent it are increaſed, the people begin to deſpiſe both the legiſlative and the miniſterial authority; and this contempt produces factions, murmur, diſobedience, ſedition, and perhaps, in the end, a total ſubverſion of the ſtate.

Government is never upon a right foot, but when the ſanctions of the legiſlature are ſo ſacred,

that it becomes hard to judge who are moſt afraid, the people to break the laws, or the miniſterial power not to put them in execution: but to be thus venerable, they muſt not be enacted upon every ſlight ſuggeſtion, nor repealed with the ſame levity; they muſt be few and effectual, eſteemed from their weight, and not their number.

It is evident beyond all diſpute, that, in ſtates ill adminiſtered, where the feweſt laws are obſerved, they abound moſt; not that their corruptions require more, but their corruptions are the cauſe that ſo few are put in execution. And thus a languiſhing commonwealth, uneaſy with its diſtempers, applies to law-makers for relief, but either quite throws away the remedies, or uſes them ſo ſhort a time th t the peccant humours cannot be carried off, and growing worſe and worſe, calls out ſtill for freſh preſcriptions, which are all to no purpoſe, it being impoſſible to cure thoſe who will neither take the phyſick directed, nor yet alter their courſe of diet.

But a government, conducting itſelf with equity, courage and wiſdom, will rarely ſtand in need of theſe phyſicians, and ſo order the whole buſineſs of the publick, as to make it an equal matter of wonder among the people, to have a new law made, or to ſee an old one broken.

All which a good adminiſtration may bring about, by giving an early check to corruption and abuſes, as they are ſeen to riſe within the commonwealth; or where they have already a large entrance, by drawing down the laws with all their force upon them. It is indeed leſs difficult to keep a right eſtabliſhment from declining, than to work order out of confuſion, to eradicate vices that have been fixed many years, or to make thoſe capable of a wiſe and ſteady rule, who have been

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ſo long miſgoverned, that perhaps the majority, through intereſt or inclination, begin to like it.

In either of theſe caſes, be the affairs of the publick upon a good, or a bad foot, the aſſiſtance of the legiſlature will, from time to time, be wanting to keep what ſtands upright from warping, and to ſtraiten what is crooked. The nature of man leans more to vice than virtue; to ſuppreſs one, and promote the other, is the aim of laws, and the proper buſineſs of the legiſlature, which, when the commonwealth is diſtempered, muſt preſcribe either purging or reſtoring medicines, but not ſo frequently that the body politick ſhall live upon this phyſick, and that ſtrong cordials and high reſtoratives muſt become its only food and nouriſhment.

But though the conſtitution of a ſtate may be ſo impaired, by time and accidents, that it can no longer ſtand, unleſs it is often mended and propt up, now in one part and then in another, yet it does not ſeem impoſſible but that a government may at leaſt be ſo well managed, that the legiſlature ſhall not be neceſſitated to take upon itſelf, in a manner, all the executive power, and be compelled to interpoſe in the whole adminiſtration of affairs.

No doubt there can be nothing more dangerous than to mingle theſe two authorities, which, in a well-formed model, are in their nature ſo diſtinct, and cannot be confounded together without an entire change of the conſtitution; as for example, that of England is called a limited monarchy, but if the executive power aſſumes an authority to make laws, it then degenerates into tyranny: on the other hand, if the buſineſs of the ſtate is always ſo miſmanaged, that there lies a neceſſity upon the legiſlature to do what properly belongs to the executive power, the government muſt in time become

ariſtocratical, though here it would be moſt likely to end in a democracy.

However, ſuppoſe this confuſion might be continued without hazard to the crown, which ſeems in the higheſt degree improbable, yet it brings ſo many difficulties upon princes, and their people, that it is with the utmoſt care to be avoided.

In the natural body, the head does not walk, the hands digeſt, or the ſtomach think, but each member has its proper and ſeparate performances. It is the ſame in a ſtate well regulated, whereof all the parts that compoſe it have their diſtinct and peculiar functions. Sovereigns, in their legiſlative capacity, with the other parts compoſing the legiſlature, ordain; what has been, or is, from time to time, thus ordained, they, their miniſters and officers, put in execution; and when to all this the people give due obedience, the commonwealth is perfect.

But in a ſtate whoſe affairs are out of order, all this proceeds quite otherwiſe; the legiſlature cannot conſult maturely for the publick in making laws, by reaſon their time is wholly taken up with enquiries, and in performing that which ſhould have been done by others; and the miniſterial authority, terrified by a ſuperior power, remains aſtoniſhed and unactive, and having given offence by doing, or by being thought to do amiſs, thinks to atone by doing nothing. In the mean while good princes, who deſire to pleaſe their people, are uncertain how much of the executive power they ſhall leave to the legiſlature, how far they ſhall act themſelves, and how much may be committed to their miniſters: and what does this uncertainty produce, but an adminiſtration both impotent and careleſs?

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But it may be aſked, are the law-makers to ſit ſtill and ſee a country ruined? If trade in general is neglected, or if any branch of it is not national, but deſtructive, are not they to take care it may be ſet upon a better foot? Does it not belong to them to puniſh abuſes and corruptions in the courts of juſtice? Are they not to reform impiety, ſuperſtition, and vices, that creep into the doctrine and practice of the church? If the publick treaſure is waſted or embezzled, are not they to examine into and redreſs this grievance? If the diſcipline of the navy, by former miſmanagement and negligence, has been corrupted, does it not import them to put it in a righter method? If the honor and ſafety of the realm has not been conſulted or regarded in the adminiſtration at home, or in treaties and alliances abroad, are not they to interpoſe with ſounder and better counſels? Laſtly, Are not they to ſee that the miniſters of ſtate perform their reſpective duties, and, from time to time, to call ſuch of them to an account, whoſe conſtant meaſures and proceedings denote them to be negligent, unſkilful, or corrupt?

No doubt all this, and ſeveral more points here omitted, are the proper objects of the legiſlative care and wiſdom, which is to intervene with its authority, as the matter requires, not only with repreſentations and advices to the throne, but by offering new laws, when the fault or miſgovernment can be mended no other way.

But the queſtion will be, how far frequent exertions of this power are prudent, ſafe, and conſiſtent with the nature of the conſtitution? and whether moſt of the errors in a ſtate may not be redreſſed, though the law-makers do no more than overlook the miniſterial officers? and whether ſuch a general inſpection may not be as effectual

towards reſtoring order and good government, as for the legiſlature to take upon itſelf the endleſs trouble of doing that which ſhould be done by others?

When the law-makers tranſact the whole buſineſs of a ſtate, for what can the miniſters be accountable? or, when the executive power ſtands divided between miniſters and one part of the conſtitution, is not the match very unequal? What courage can private men have to act in ſuch a partnerſhip? and muſt they not rather leave all to their management, who, collectively conſidered, are ſo much ſuperior to them? If all is left to them (as cautious ſtateſmen muſt think it their intereſt to do, when the legiſlature ſeems to deſire it) then, as has been ſaid before, the conſtitution is in danger of becoming ariſtocratical. But the caſe moſt commonly happens to be, that they do ſome things themſelves, leaving others to the miniſters of ſtate, without declaring which ſhall be their part, and which not: from whence follows a making good of the old adage, that no body minds what is every body's buſineſs, and between them the general adminiſtration is neglected.

The great officers of a kingdom are rewarded with precedence, honors, power, and the lawful profits of their employments; for all which it is but fit they ſhould proportionably labour in the ſervice of the publick. If they are allowed to enjoy heſe benefits, and the law-makers muſt undergo the whole pains and trouble of government, the condition of miniſters would be happy; but yet happier, if they are not accountable, as in reaſon they ought not to be, when others take in hand the buſineſs which belongs to them.

But this could never be intended in any wiſe conſtitution. That of Engl nd has annexed high honours

honours and large emoluments to the reſpective functions of the miniſterial power, and has given to each diſtinct authorities, of which doubtleſs the meaning muſt have been, that the ſtate might know whom particularly to call upon, when the affairs of government were miſmanaged.

It is a fundamental maxim here, that male-adminiſtration ſhall not excuſe itſelf by pleading the prince's directions, pleaſure or command, who can do no wrong; and it is full as reaſonable to take from miniſters all occaſions and pretences to throw the blame of what goes amiſs upon any other part of the conſtitution: nor can it be wiſe to let the people know that any part of the ſupreme power is capable of committing frequent errors.

But great aſſemblies expoſe themſelves to the danger of often erring when they go out of their legiſlative capacity, and engage in the ſubtle and minute intricacies of the executive power, where all the corrupt members of the ſtate think it their intereſt to miſlead them, and obſtruct their endeavours, that ſuch good intentions for the publick may at laſt be defeated, as generally they are in the concluſion, after much time has been loſt, which might have been employed in matters of real uſe and ſervice to the commonwealth.

However, the adminiſtration happens ſometimes to be ſo neglected, that there lies upon them an abſolute neceſſity to interpoſe, or all muſt go to ruin. When this appears, and on ſuch high occaſions, they reſort to extraordinary remedies, and ſupply with their own proceedings what is defective in the miniſterial power, as the general of an army is now and then to fight with his own hands like a common ſoldier; but as to do this in every ſkirmiſh would be thought levity in a great commander, ſo, perhaps, it may not become the gravity

vity and wiſdom of the legiſlature to engage in every trivial buſineſs of the ſtate.

When the perſons of men, or their crimes, are grown too big for the laws in their common courſe to deal with, or when they to whom the management of affairs is committed neglect their duty, or betray their truſt, then is the proper ſeaſon for the legiſlature to exert itſelf, upon which the imputation of aſſuming the executive power can never be fixed, while it undertakes no more than to intermeddle with what is either omitted, or with what is too ſtrong to be encountered by the ſubordinate parts of government.

And the ſeldomer it is made uſe of, the more venerable this authority becomes; whereas, when the people are as much accuſtomed to it as they are to the common exerciſe of other powers, its enquiries, attempts to reform, complaints and accuſations, are looked upon as things of courſe, and, from their frequency, grow not to be regarded by thoſe who would maintain, and not be awful to ſuch as would invade the conſtitution.

The legiſlature beſt preſerves its weight when it attacks but one crime or one miſmanagement at once: it preſerves its weight, becauſe, in this conflict againſt a ſingle opponent, it may, and indeed always does prevail; whereas it runs the hazard of being foiled and defeated, when it goes about to contend with a multitude of enemies.

And in ſuch ſingle attempts, of firſt mending one thing and then another, it interferes leſs with the executive power, of which every part, either through fear, or through caution, is at a ſtand, when the whole adminiſtration is in a manner queſtioned.

To apply to the throne, and to call upon the miniſtry for redreſs of errors in the ſtate, to commit

mit to the government's care whatever it is able to compaſs, to help its omiſſions by advices or new laws when wanted, to think of mending by degrees, and not with ſuch haſte as cannot ſucceed; to leave no fault, vice or crime unconquered, when once aſſaulted, and to exert itſelf but upon great occaſions, are, perhaps, the true methods of preſerving to the legiſlative authority that due reſpect from the multitude, without which it is impoſſible to keep a free country from running into the abſolute dominion of a ſingle perſon.

Let miniſters behave themſelves with all imaginable integrity, let them be eaſy of acceſs, courteous, willing to do good offices, ready to advance merit, faithful to the prince, vigilant for the ſtate, and careful of the people, yet there is ſtill ſomething in eminent power ſo hated, feared or envied, that they can never act in ſuch a manner but they muſt have many enemies: if they are active, they diſpleaſe thoſe who love pleaſure more than buſineſs; if they are frugal for the country, they are not liked at court: their care of the people is called affecting popularity; for their good offices they are ſcarce thanked by thoſe that taſte the benefit, who are apt to think they deſerve more, and they are forced to diſappoint far a greater number than it is within their ſphere to gratify.

But, not to contemplate the diſtinct ſtations of great men, let us conſider a whole government together in its executive capacity. It is the duty of ſuch as ſit at helm to root out vice, to take care that furious zeal may commit no outrage, and that ſuperſtition may get no entrance; to puniſh immoralities, to ſee that the prince may not be ſecretly deceived nor openly plundered, to reſtrain luxury, to hinder parties from hurting one another

or

or the publick, to countermine againſt the dark workings of ambition, and to rule with ſuch wiſdom, that neither plenty nor wants may beget diſobedience in the people; all which, and much more, is the buſineſs of a ſevere, ſteady, and right management.

But muſt not the doing all this contract many enemies? If things are ill-conducted, the good will be diſpleaſed; if well, the bad are diſcontented; ſo that it is impoſſible to govern in ſuch a manner, but there muſt be a great number who will cenſure the management of affairs: beſides, the ſtate is never without ſome who may be called wanton enemies, who hurt it without malice, by reaſon they have nothing elſe to do, and becauſe to find fault is the moſt pleaſant ſubject wit can work upon, and a never-failing matter for diſcourſe.

That authority ſhould be thus maligned, in whatever hands it is lodged, may not one of the cauſes be, that we retain ſome thoughts of that equality wherein the race of men were placed in the free ſtate of nature? that by ſubmitting to laws, and the rules of ſociety, man is inclined to think he has not ſo diveſted himſelf of his natural right, but that there ſtill remains a claim, which he ſeems to put in when he finds fault with ſuch as are above him.

From whence ſoever it proceeds, it is evident that, at all times, the exerciſe of power has been accompanied not only with the envy, but often with the hatred of thoſe whom fortune has placed in a lower degree; all which they ſhould bear without repining, who, to enjoy the profits and titles which follow power, are contented to be the ſlaves of buſineſs.

But the legiſlature, whoſe ſervice to the publick is voluntary, and attended with no recompence, except

except the honour of doing well, ſhould endeavour to avoid all this envy and hatred, which ſeem ſo inſeparably joined to the executive part of power, and leave thoſe burthens to ſuch as are paid for what they ſuffer.

There is nothing more natural, than for the commonalty to love their own repreſentatives, and to reſpect that authority, which, by the conſtitution, was eſtabliſhed to protect their civil rights; and yet the parliament in 1640 is an inſtance, that when the Houſe of Commons took upon themſelves the whole adminiſtration of affairs, the people grew as weary of them as they had formerly been of ſtate miniſters, and, when in this executive capacity, many of the multitude began to complain of their proceedings, queſtion their privileges, and arraign their authority; for when collective bodies take in hand ſuch affairs as were wont to be tranſacted by private men, mankind is apt to ſuſpect they may be liable to thoſe partialities, errors, or corruptions, of which particular perſons may be accuſed in their management; ſo that it is poſſible for aſſemblies to become unpopular, as well as miniſters of ſtate.

But had that parliament (which was indeed driven into a variety of enquiries, by numberleſs errors, corruptions, and neglects in the adminiſtration) proceeded by degrees, and reformed one abuſe after another, without embracing too much at once, they had not overthrown the ſtate as they did, and they had given diſtaſte to none but the very criminals upon whom they animadverted in their enquiries and complaints; and when this courſe is taken, ambitious and deſigning men will never have it in their power to ſhake the people in their affections to the Houſe of Commons.

When the executive power proceeds amiſs, not only the legiſlature may interpoſe, but each particular member of the commonwealth thinks it lawful for him to intermeddle. For man, having firſt ſubjected himſelf to government, for eaſe, plenty and protection, if he is neither happy nor ſafe, through their fault who rule, begins to believe that the contract is broken, into which he entered for the benefit of ſociety; that they who, by their conduct, ſhew themſelves to be no ſtronger nor wiſer than he is, have no right to command him; that he is returned into the full liberty his progenitors enjoyed in the free ſtate of nature, and that he may act for himſelf, and take all the ways of conſulting and compaſſing his own ſafety.

And probably from hence it is, that, under looſe and weak adminiſtrations, all degrees, from the higheſt to the loweſt of the people, will be ſtateſmen; and the vulgar, growing from time to time ſtill more inquiſitive, cenſorious and turbulent, it becomes at laſt very difficult to keep them within the bounds of duty to their rulers.

In this uneaſy condition they ſuſpect and hate that miniſtry whereof they have had experience, which leads them to fly for refuge to thoſe whoſe vices lie concealed, becauſe they have not yet appeared upon the ſtage of buſineſs. But when their clamours have produced a change of hands, finding themſelves no better than they were, they complain on, being full of jealouſies and diſcontents. And all this is the matter out of which wicked and ambitious men create factions in kingdoms and commonwealths; and from hence parties are formed, who become inſignificant and unregarded when there are few or no faults in the executive power, that is, when the general adminiſtration of affairs is ſound and perfect.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

Of Miniſters of State.

IT was a ſaying of Hannibal, that many things, which in their own nature ſeem almoſt impoſſible, are to be compaſſed when taken in hand with ſkill: "Multa quæ impedita natura ſunt, conſilio expediuntur." To reſtore order in a ſtate where all has been in confuſion, vigilance in the publick where its buſineſs is uſed to be neglected, frugality where oppoſite courſes have been thought moſt politick, and probity among thoſe who are long accuſtomed to corruption; or, to lead ſuch into the plain ways of honeſty and truth, whoſe experience and dexterity is more verſed in wrong than in right meaſures; to ſuppreſs faction in a country where moſt of the great men, for many years, have known no other road to honor and preferments; to reconcile parties, when perhaps both think it their intereſt to remain divided, one ſide aiming to engroſs all, and to exclude rivals in the preſent juncture, and the other ſide deſiring likewiſe, in their turn, to have no competitors, conceiving vaſt hopes from the future condition of things; to bring affairs ſo embroiled into a better poſture, is, without doubt, very difficult; but who can pretend it is out of the reach of human wiſdom, ſince there are inſtances, and not remote ones, in hiſtory, that as much as all this has been brought about by a wiſe and virtuous prince, aſſiſted with a good and faithful council?

As I have noted before, parties, far more exaſperated againſt one another than ours can be, and when the ſword of civil war had been unſheathed

ſheathed for near 40 years, were reconciled in France by Henry the fourth, a king roughly bred in camps, a ſtranger to the ſkill of courts, and who had not the natural parts which ſhined in his immediate predeceſſor Henry the third, and none of that dark cunning which lurked in the ſubtle head of Lewis the eleventh; but heaven had bleſſed him with what was much better, a mind nobly diſpoſed, full of virtuous thoughts and tender inclinations towards his people.

The deep reaches of policy, ſo much applauded in ſome kings, have generally tended more to the hurt than good of human kind: in thoſe dark caverns and receſſes of the brain are often forged the chains of bondage; and as, in relation to private men, honeſty will in the end be always found the beſt policy, in the ſame manner, as to princes, true honeſty ought to be accounted the ſublimeſt part of wiſdom.

Machiavel obſerves, that they are very much miſtaken who are apt to cry, when princes have created in the people an opinion of their prudence, that the excellencies of their own nature are not to be thanked for this, but that it is owing to the good councils of thoſe who are about them; whereas, ſays he, it is an infallible rule, that a prince who has no wiſdom of his own, can never be well adviſed, and that good councils proceed rather from the wiſdom of the prince, than the prince's wiſdom from the goodneſs of his councils.

This obſervation holds yet truer in England than perhaps in other countries. France had a ſteady and wiſe management of affairs under a weak prince, Lewis the thirteenth, who at laſt committed the whole adminiſtration, ſucceſſively, to the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarine, and theſe indeed ruled the kingdom. But among us, not one

one inſtance can be given, that things have been well adminiſtered in the realm, when the Sovereign was defective in thoſe abilities of the mind which are requiſite for empire.

The reaſon whereof is obvious to any who conſider the nature of our government, and of its people. A free country, and men jealous of their liberties, can never brook that the Prince ſhould be engroſſed by any one perſon. Whoever pretended to take upon himſelf this poſt, and to be a miniſter without aſſociates in authority, has always been unfortunate. Wolſey, as peradventure he was the ableſt man we ever had for ſuch a ſtation, ſo he held it the longeſt, and yet he ſunk at laſt under the weight of being a ſingle miniſter.

Therefore, ſince the form of this conſtitution, and temper of the people, ſeem to require, that the council by which the affairs of ſtate are governed ſhould conſiſt of more than are conſulted in an abſolute dominion, and ſince many muſt here participate in the derivative power, if Princes are not endowed with faculties to judge amidſt theſe numbers, they will be ever at a loſs.

Even where all have the ſame right intentions to the ſtate, and the ſame ardour in the Prince's ſervice, ſtill, among ſeveral heads, there will be variety of opinions, and it muſt be a good judgment that can determine, which of divers advices is the beſt.

But ſome of our Princes heretofore have been ſo unfortunate, that their very miniſters were divided, which always happened to be the caſe when there were parties in the kingdom; and then to ſteer a true courſe was yet more difficult, and it required a quick eye to ſee which councils were ſuggeſted by his ambition who gave them, his own intereſt, corruption or intemperate zeal,

or which were the reſult of long experience, perfect wiſdom, and real affection to the publick, eſpecially becauſe it is not hard for great parts and flowing eloquence ſo to clothe falſhood, that it ſhall appear as fair as truth itſelf.

Among the great ones, to keep intemperate zeal within bounds, to curb their ambition, to ſee that their ſelfiſh deſigns and the corrupt ends they drive at, may not prejudice the commonwealth, ſo to countenance the good, that they may be able to over-rule the bad in all debates and conſultations, and to bring different intereſt and oppoſite opinions to concur in promoting what is for the general advantage of the whole, is indeed not an eaſy taſk. "And for Princes to be ſerved by a ſet of men without faults, is (as Machiavel obſerves) impoſſible; for man will be bad, unleſs he is compelled to be good by ſome neceſſity."

But Sovereigns impoſe this neceſſity of being good upon their miniſters and councillors, when they themſelves are ſo, and this royal goodneſs is a light that will guide them through all the moſt hard and darkeſt parts of government, eſpecially when to it are joined the help and grace of God, who never fails to aſſiſt ſuch of his vicegerents, here on earth, as tread in the ſteps of piety and virtue, unleſs at certain ſeaſons, when his divine providence thinks fit to ſcourge a wicked people, by laying afflictions on a virtuous Prince.

Diſſimulation, breach of faith, when it ſerves a turn, the arts of extorting treaſure from the wretched ſubjects, or undermining them in their liberties, with what elſe bad Kings and their flatterers have called high wiſdom, are far from being the right ſupports of empire; and for the good government of a free country, ſuch as is this kingdom, no more ſkill, no more policies are requiſite

quiſite, than what may be comprehended by a woman, as was ſeen in the inſtance of Queen Elizabeth.

That great Princeſs laid the foundations of her happy reign in the beginning of it, giving proofs, at her acceſſion to the throne, that her chief endeavours ſhould be to promote the honour and welfare of her country, and to gain the affections of her people.

What effect had the fine-ſpun Italian policies ſuggeſted to her contemporary neighbour Henry the third of France, by his mother Catharine of Medicis, who perſuaded her ſon that his power would be ſtronger by keeping up two factions, equally poiſed, within his kingdom? Did not all theſe arts, and all this falſe ſkill, terminate in the ruin of that Prince? Or what effect had the deep-laid councils of her other contemporary, Philip the ſecond, who impoveriſhed Spain by feeding the league, in hopes to get France for his daughter the Infanta? Did not this end in his loſing above half the Netherlands? Both Catharine and this Philip are celebrated for great politicians, and yet the one ſaw nothing but troubles and civil war during her time, and the other, every thing conſidered, left his dominions in a far worſe condition than he found them.

Neither the French Henry, nor Philip of Spain, had entered into thoſe deſtructive meaſures, had they not preferred their own ambition, and immoderate thirſt after power, above the quiet and happineſs of their reſpective countries: and theſe inſtances prove how little there is in theſe ſubtle policies or king-craft. Each had it in a large degree, and yet it miſlead them both; from whence may be juſtly argued, that to love their people, and to conſult their welfare, is in Princes the

higheſt, and carries along with it all the other parts of wiſdom.

And in a free country, ſuch as England is, when Princes, in the beginnings of their reign, give apparent proofs that the publick good is the chief object of their thoughts, and that their meaſures and deſignments ſhall ſtill center in the eaſe and happineſs of their ſubjects, it may be ſafely concluded, that their hands are ſtrong enough to wield the ſcepter, that their natural lights are ſufficient, that they have attained to the degrees of wiſdom and knowledge which are requiſite for empire, and " that they are fit to go out and come in before, and to judge this people that is ſo great."

As Queen Elizabeth, by convincing her ſubjects, in the firſt ſtep ſhe made, that her chief glory ſhould conſiſt in their welfare and proſperity, got ſuch credit and power as enabled her to accompliſh one of the greateſt works that had ever been performed by any Prince, which was to reconcile a kingdom divided about religious matters, and where the ſtrength in numbers was of both ſides in a manner equal; ſo a Sovereign, in whoſe royal mind and thoughts the love of England is deeply rooted, and whoſe own heart is entirely Engliſh, without doubt will be able, by degrees, to put an end to faction and diviſions, and to heal all our preſent breaches.

For they whoſe fortunes, birth, or abilities, give them encouragement to approach the throne, and undertake the adminiſtration of affairs, when they ſee one placed upon it who is reſolved to promote national honour and intereſt, muſt adopt all their councils to this reſolution, and it reduces miniſters to " that neceſſity of being good," whereof Machiavel ſpeaks.

To ſay that men are corrupted in an ill court, is by no means true; but now and then it happens that ſuch as are but half honeſt enter upon the ſtage of buſineſs: theſe indeed, obſerving the advantages with which compleat wickedneſs is attended in a bad reign, are eaſily perſuaded to lay their half honeſty quite aſide, and to become as abandoned in their principles and actions, as the reſt with whom they have to deal. But the vices of the palace leave no taint at all on him, whoſe virtues are perfect and conſummate; he is as ſound when he comes out as when he went in, and come out at laſt he muſt, for his fellowſhip there cannot be grateful long.

It is not that the morals of the men of buſineſs are altered in a bad court, but the truth rather ſeems to be, that they bring all their vices and corruptions with them, and that none repair thither, when ill deſigns are upon the anvil, but the worſt perſons, who are then moſt acceptable, and indeed fitteſt to carry on miſgovernment.

On the other hand, when there is a fair proſpect that things ſhall be well adminiſtered, and that there is ſuch a court as is capable of honeſt councils, men of fortune, worth and probity, think it proper to make a tender of their ſervice. And there can be no truer indication, that the time is ſeaſonable for perſons ſo qualified to engage in affairs of ſtate, than when Princes, by their general conduct, ſhew that they are, in no degree, ſo ſtudious of enlarging their own regal authority and power, as they are careful to promote the intereſt of their people, and anxious to advance the honour of their country.

As theſe meaſures attract and invite the beſt, ſo they help to keep the worſt at a fit diſtance from the throne. They who are maſters of no other

ſkill than to flatter the preſent inclinations of the Prince, will ſay, what ſhall we do at a court, where the Sovereign reliſhes better what is ſound and wholeſome, than what is falſe and pleaſing? They who build all their merit in a profligate reſignation of themſelves to whatever is commanded, will ſay, there is no need of ſuch as we are, when the Prince deſires to be obeyed in nothing but what is convenient, juſt and honourable. They who are tainted with arbitrary principles, or who cannot ſatiate their unbounded ambition in any legal government, will ſay, this is no time for us, our tricks and ſubtle policies are of no uſe, and out of date; the Sovereign does not like to walk in our dark and difficult meandres, but delights in the plain road of juſtice and the laws. And ſuch as graſp at power, with no other deſign but to be in ſome ſtation where they may have opportunities to rob the publick, may, perhaps, not think it worth their while to thruſt themſelves into a court, where immoderate gains are no longer to be made, and where the Prince is frugal, not by natural temper, but in compaſſion to the people.

When they ſee their Sovereign's mind fully bent upon reſtoring peace, order and union in a country, which is the moſt certain proof that can be given of bearing true affection to it, they will thus argue among one another: the Prince is reſolved to root out faction, our courſe of proceeding is therefore to be changed; let us caſt aſide our pretended zeal for the publick, and learn to love it in good earneſt; we muſt make no more attempts to inflame the multitude, by finding fault where there is no occaſion; when we complain hereafter, let it be in order to mend things, and not to remove perſons only to bring ourſelves into their ſtations; let us not accuſe miniſters, and, when they are depreſſed,

depreſſed, be more arbitrary, corrupt and rapacious than they were, when we are in their poſts, and the power is in our hands; it is no longer the ſeaſon to think of embroiling the Prince's affairs, to render ourſelves neceſſary; the way now muſt be, to endeavour at riſing in the ſtate by real merit, and not by popular arts, and by being conſiderable in this or that party; let us rather be diſengaged from the intricacies, inſincerities, indiſcretions and partialities, with which parties are commonly attended: the Prince deſigns ſo to rule, as not to want the help of either ſide, but will invite or compel both to make all their thoughts, proceedings and councils, center in the publick intereſt; invite by good government, and compel by diſcountenancing all ſuch as ſhall pretend to advance themſelves by the numbers, power, and noiſe of factions; let us therefore put an end to parties; diviſions muſt ceaſe, that this united ſtrength may make our Sovereign great, powerful, and in a condition to hold the balance of Europe, and render the people ſafe and happy at home, and formidable to their enemies abroad.

Theſe will doubtleſs be the thoughts of ſuch who intend to mount upon the ſtage of buſineſs under a good and virtuous Prince. They who are conſcious of their own imperfections, vices and incapacity, will either be afraid, or think it impoſſible for them to approach the throne; and ſuch a court, inſtead of corrupting men, renders them better than they are by nature, and becomes the ſchool of honour and true virtue: ſo that an early reſolution of ruling well (which they ſeldom fail to take, and afterwards purſue, who indeed cheriſh their people, and love their native country) is the certain way for Princes to be ſerved by faithful miniſters and able ſtateſmen.

The ſtruggles of faction are commonly for power; therefore one way of putting an end to them is, ſo to order affairs, that the offices, employments and dignities of the ſtate may be the rewards of merit, and not the prize of this or that party, as it chances to get the upper-hand, ſince the taking away the matter contended for, is one ſtep towards quieting contention; and it is in ſome degree removed, when they only are advanced and regarded who ſtrive to deſerve well from the whole, not they who think it deſert ſufficient to have walked obſequiouſly under ſuch and ſuch a banner. To ſee bad men preferred to high truſts has been frequently the cauſe of ſedition, and truly, in ſome meaſure, it renders forming of parties unavoidable, by reaſon ſuch as f ar injuries and oppreſſion from wicked miniſters in power, are neceſſitated to join together for their own preſervation: but, generally ſpeaking, all degrees of men think themſelves ſafe, and acquieſce in the recompences they ſee beſtowed on virtue and true merit.

And in nations where there happens to be a court and country party, there are two ſorts of men very unfit to act in affairs of ſtate, either for the Prince or people; and yet the perſons here meant have, in former times, been by both moſt looked upon and truſted; that is, the court liked thoſe moſt who were fallen under the diſpleaſure of the people, and the people had the beſt opinion of thoſe who had received the higheſt affronts and diſobligations from the court. But there is a vein of paſſion running through all the actions and councils of ſuch men, which is very prejudicial to the publick, and commonly they are too much in anger themſelves to be good authors of peace and concord among others.

Miniſters

Miniſters contribute very much to root out faction, when their own conduct is without reproach; when it manifeſtly appears, by all their actions, that they take more care of the common intereſt, than to build up their own fortunes; when they are not over-greedy for themſelves; when they ſhow no endeavours to engroſs the Prince, or to confine the royal favour only to their own private followers and creatures; when they do not ſo much conſider who are their perſonal friends, as who beſt love and can beſt ſerve the publick; when they have diſintereſted minds, clean hands, and ſuch undaunted ſpirits as conſtantly to purſue what is right, and to avoid what is wrong, without regarding either to pleaſe or diſpleaſe the great or little vulgar, which courage ariſes from true ſenſe and ſolid virtue; when they deſire to have power and intereſt, rather by their proper merits and endowments, than from the ſtation they are in; and laſtly, when they are of ſuch a temper that they can, with eaſe and ſatisfaction, quit thoſe poſts wherein they cannot be of ſervice to the publick, or which they can no longer hold with their own honour. When all this becomes viſible, both to thoſe who wiſh them ill and wiſh them well, they quickly grow to have ſuch weight and authority with the whole people, that the miniſterial part of overnment begins ſoon to be an over-match for thoſe who would diſturb its peace: and ſuch miniſters add ſtrength to the Prince, and are a luſtre to the court.

One of the beſt proofs men can give of their capacity for the management of great affairs, is when, by their whole conduct, they ſhew that they hate flattery, and can bear truth: If they do not like the firſt, the ſecond will never be ungrateful to them; for what Machiavel ſays of Princes, may full as well be applied to their miniſters,

" That

" That they have no other remedy againſt flatterers, than to let every body underſtand they are not offended when the truth is told them." And this ſincerity from their true friends, is the only antidote to be made uſe of againſt the poiſon that is daily poured into their ears by the falſe friends and obſequious followers of their fortune.

They who have well weighed the point will perhaps come to an opinion, that to love flattery is of worſe conſequence to ſtateſmen, than it can be to any Prince: for ſuppoſe a King ſo unfortunate, as to hear the truth from none that are about him, and that he is ſoothed in every wrong meaſure by thoſe who hold his good graces, by no other tenure than by approving and putting in execution all the reſults of his will and pleaſure; yet, if he reigns over a free country, and conſults a Parliament, he will, from time to time, be put in mind of his dangers, either by the houſe of lords or houſe of commons, and through theſe organs will be conveyed to him the complaints, the ſenſe, and voices of his people. Beſides the hazard, confuſions, blood-ſhed, and the long train of unforeſeen conſequences with which revolutions are attended, reſpect and allegiance are all-powerful motives to keep ſubjects within the bounds of duty, and to bear many things. How much ſhall not be here argued? But moſt certain it is, that the laws of God inſtruct us to ſuffer a great deal from Princes.

But nothing of this holds as to miniſters of ſtate. That faithful monitor, the legiſlative authority, is by no means obliged to give them warning, or to take any pains to hold them back, when they are running towards a precipice: in their caſe, the law-makers are to correct as judges, and not to adviſe as fathers. And though the ſcriptures enjoin obedience to government in general, which includes

includes all the miniſterial officers of the ſtate, yet this cannot be ſo conſtrued as to imply, that in free countries the people, by their repreſentatives, have not a right to call miniſters to an account, and to queſtion their proceedings, or, that the ſupreme judicature may not puniſh their offences. On the contrary, it is evident that the laws were as much intended to preſerve the commonalty againſt the exceſſes of power, as to keep them from hurting one another.

If therefore great men give way to have their actions ſmoothed over to them by paraſites with their oily tongues, if they love to be applauded in all they do, and are impatient of contradiction, they muſt be ruined firſt or laſt; they will not hear of their failings, inadvertencies, miſtakes and wrong meaſures, till their errors are paſt redreſs, and till complaints and accuſations come with a force which is no longer to be reſiſted: and all this is the more unavoidable, becauſe it is not quite clear, whether or no God allows the ſubject any other remedy for miſgovernment, but to puniſh miniſters for what the Prince has done amiſs, by reaſon it was their duty to adviſe him better.

There never was a man born, with ſuch a ſhare of natural wiſdom within himſelf, as could conduct him, without the help of others, through all the labyrinths of publick buſineſs; and indeed true wiſdom does almoſt as much conſiſt of the inventive, as of the deliberative faculties. A great ſtateſman muſt not only be qualified to judge aright, but he muſt be likewiſe able to invent and propoſe what is fit to be done in the arduous affairs, and in the new, ſudden, and difficult emergencies of government. In the firſt, his own abilities, if they are very ſtrong, may be a ſufficient guide; but no ſingle head is capable of conceiving all

all that is comprehended in the ſecond part of wiſdom, and to furniſh, from his own proper ſtock, all that is wanted for the full and perfect execution of any conſiderable poſt or employment in the commonwealth.

And whither ſhall he repair for the intimations, advices, lights and helps he muſt certainly ſtand in need of? Shall it be to the companions of his ſoft hours, the aſſociates of his pleaſures, and that perfidious band of flatterers which great men are ſeldom without? They will ſay nothing to him but what they know pleaſes, and ſuits with his temper and inclination. If they propoſe, it ſhall be what tends to their own, and not to his advantage: and how can they adviſe him whoſe opinions and ſentiments they are never uſed to combat?

He therefore who deſires to preſerve power, ſhould endeavour to contract ſincere and ſolid friendſhips; and becauſe they are not eaſily to be found in courts, he ſhould ſeek them elſewhere, purchaſe them at any rate, and encourage ſuch as he has thus choſen, to tell him truth, and oppoſe his thoughts and notions: but they can do him no ſervice, unleſs they are qualified themſelves with ſuch judgments as to be able to diſcern all his moſt hidden faults and imperfections.

He whoſe ſight goes no further than to ſee the virtues of a great man, will like all he does, and incline his own opinion that way, and helps to confirm him in his errors; whereas he who knows his weak ſide (and there are none without it) is ready armed and prepared to aſſiſt his friend, and though much inferior to him upon the whole, yet, not having juſt the ſame weakneſs, may hinder this friend from running into many miſtakes and dangers.

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For he who has a good head, and a ſincere heart, will be apt thus to judge within himſelf: My friend's ambition will of courſe lead him to make ſuch a falſe ſtep that muſt be fatal to him; the matter is now in agitation, he is blind that way, I am not, and muſt endeavour to diſſuade him from it; the temper of my friend is too phlegmatick and cautious, I am not ſo wiſe as he is, but from nature have more ſpirit and warmth, without being raſh, I ſhall therefore lay before him, that if he were not quite ſo cold and circumſpect, it would be better for himſelf and for the publick: or, my friend's natural heat carries him too far; he weighs the preſent advantages, but not the future event of things and councils, and becauſe he knows no fear, he thinks there can be no danger; I have more experience than he has, though his parts are above mine; I have ſeen great deſigns defeated by ſmall accidents, and have known ſmall accidents produce great effects, and I will go and try to moderate his heat with my flegm.

They who have friendſhips with ſuch as are in high poſts, and deſign to do them good, either out of real love, or in gratitude for kind offices done and favours received, proceed in this manner: or, if they ſee them altered and made worſe by power, and become reſerved, poſitive, preſumptious, arrogant, too much elevated and giddy in the height to which they have reached, they ſhew them how unpopular all this will be, and that it is impoſſible for a man to continue great any long time, who does not ſtudy to be agreeable to good men, ſince, of neceſſity, in doing well himſelf he muſt diſpleaſe the bad.

When they have that ſincerity which is required by the ſtrict laws of friendſhip, they inform them which

which of their meaſures are ill-reliſhed, and which applauded by the whole people, that they may be encouraged to perſiſt in what is right, and be diverted from what is wrong. He who believes himſelf to be above theſe intimations, and that he can always depend upon himſelf, may be ſaid to live alone: and as they who retire from the world grow by degrees ſavage and fantaſtical, and at laſt to know nothing, ſo they who are too proud to take advice are ſure to meet with the ſame ill effects of ſolitude, amidſt all their buſineſs, and in the throng of a full court; whereas they who frequently conſult ſuch as they know to wiſh them well, are not only fortified with their own, but reap a benefit from the knowledge and experience of others, and thereby they arrive at that true wiſdom which is attained, not by reading books, but men.

And thus a miniſter, who is ſo happy as to have, and who is ſo wiſe as to hear, faithful and well-choſen friends, avoids running on thoſe rocks (upon which they ſeldom fail to ſplit) who, in the moſt important affairs, where they alone, or where they with the publick are concerned, either rely on their own judgment (of what force ſoever it be) or only communicate with that ſervile crew at court, who ſee no faults in a great man while he preſerves his poſt of power and favour, and will allow him no virtues or perfections when his fortune changes.

And in matters fit to be communicated, they will find information, eaſe, and ſafety, by now and then conferring with ſome of the ableſt men that can be found among thoſe whom modeſty, or perhaps true wiſdom, has all along kept out of buſineſs. No country is without ſuch a ſort of perſons that have no engagements with, or dependencies

dencies on the court, but whoſe meer affections to the publick lead them often to meditate upon all its great affairs. Theſe lookers on, generally ſpeaking, are exempt from thoſe partialities, heats and prepoſſeſſions, to which they may be liable who are deeply concerned in the game themſelves, and whoſe all lies at ſtake; and the cool and diſintereſted advices of ſuch men ſometimes prove better helps, and truer lights to a miniſter, than he can elſewhere meet with.

Nothing more conduces to the proſperity of Sovereigns, than to be fortunate in the choice of thoſe who are to ſerve them; I ſay fortunate, by reaſon that to chooſe well is not always within the reach of prudence, becauſe many men have had vices and imperfections which lay quite concealed till they were mounted on the ſtage; ſo that Princes may thank their own good luck, when ſuch as they call into the adminiſtration of their affairs grow better, and not worſe, in that high power with which they are intruſted.

Nor ſhould they who know they are deficient in the abilities expected from thoſe who ſit at helm venture to approach the throne, leſt their defects ſhould be prejudicial to the Prince, and hurtful to themſelves; if they have not courage to face a danger, nor prudence to avert it; if they have not a temper that can bear with the heats, paſſions, and follies of human kind; if they ſhrink under perils, and are too much elated with proſperity; if their genius is low, and their thoughts high; if they have not foreſight, a quick apprehenſion, together with a ſolid judgment; in ſhort, if they are not equal to the greateſt affairs, for their own and the publick good, they ſhould not preſume to take upon them the adminiſtration of a Prince's buſineſs.

For their own, becauſe, without excellent endowments, it will be impoſſible for them long to keep their ground in a free country, where the people are inquiſitive and cenſorious. 'Tis true, men of a much lower form have often got to be miniſters, however, they have enjoyed but a brief authority; they have been fortune's bubbles blown up, and of a ſudden blown down, and they have frequently periſhed under the weight which they were not ſtrong enough to bear.

And for the ſake of their country they ſhould not intermeddle, becauſe to the weakneſs of ſuch men, moſt commonly, has been owing all miſgovernment in a nation; either their corrupt, or their unſkilful conduct, was the cauſe that national intereſt has been neglected, that arbitrary meaſures were taken, that hereſies have ſtarted up, and that ſeparations have been made from the body of the church, that the realm lies under the preſſure of ſo many debts, that the executive power proceeded no better, and with no more vigour, than to ſuffer factions to grow up to ſuch a head, as in time may, perhaps, endanger the publick peace; all which miſchiefs had been avoided, in a large degree, if our ſtateſmen had been equal to the great affairs they undertook to manage. So that, upon the choice Princes make of their miniſters, depends both their own and the felicity or unhappineſs of their kingdoms.

But admit their capacities of mind, and deep reaches in policy to be ſuch, that they can carry on illegal government with a ſtrenuous and powerful hand, and ſupport it for a while; of which ſort of ſtateſmen there have been no · and then ſome in every age, who, to gratify their ambition, have attempted to enſlave their country, and went a great way towards it; who, to preſerve their

their poſt of favour with a Prince of arbitrary inclinations, have acted againſt their own natural lights, and exerciſed thoſe talents to promote an unjuſt and a bad, which ſhould have been employed in eſtabliſhing a rightful adminiſtration. Yet let not theſe men rely too much upon their ſtrength of parts, which at laſt may fail, ſince the world has ſeen the ableſt of them want ſkill to prevent their own ruin for either they ſerve a Prince who is abſolute, and, if ſo, he is ſometimes compelled to ſacrifice an ill miniſter to the indignation or fury of his people; or they live in a free country, and then, in ſome juncture or other, the people will be ſtrong enough to force them from their maſter.

None ſhould preſume to come very near the throne, but ſuch as are conſcious of their own worth, who know they have abilities to ſerve the publick, and who find within themſelves a ſtock of virtue ſufficient to bear them out in the rougheſt ſtorms of fortune, and to reſiſt all the temptations which eminent power may lay before them.

When miniſters are thus qualified, Princes are not compelled to that frequent change of hands, for which weak ſtates are deſpiſed at home, and contemptible in foreign countries. Sagacity muſt be the reſult of long experience. That which has ſhone in ſome young men who had ſeen little, and yet would meddle in great affairs, was rather wit than wiſdom, and could never bear them through all the difficulties of publick buſineſs. Wit is a ſteed full of mettle, but under-limbed, and is by no means proper to travel in deep and heavy roads. Witty men are pleaſant companions for ſuch as deſire to laugh at all which the buſy world is doing, but they ſeldom prove able ſtateſmen till time has ripened their wit into judgment,

and then they arrive to the higheſt perfection, becauſe wit gives them the inventive, and their deliberative faculties are mended by experience.

But what knowledge can be attained to in courts where they change their miniſters as often as they do their faſhions, and where few are continued in a poſt half the time that is neceſſary to make them underſtand it.

Where there is this bad conduct and levity, the people muſt needs believe the government itſelf to be out of order, when they ſee it ſo reſtleſs and unquiet, like a perſon on the bed of ſickneſs, who toſſes from place to place, and can find no eaſe; nor will a ſtate be thought in ſound health, when it is ſo often for removing: beſides, nothing can be more abſurd, than to imagine governments can ſubſiſt, where ſuch as are intruſted by the Prince have not their due reſpect. But how can they be reſpected, whoſe authority is known to be ſo ſhort-lived, precarious and uncertain?

What the patriarch ſaid of his ſon Reuben holds true as to a whole nation, "Unſtable as water, thou ſhalt not excel." It is rarely ſeen, that a country becomes conſiderable which is ſubject to frequent alterations in its meaſures; but when hands are ſhifted, things muſt often change, becauſe few commonwealths are ſo well conſtituted, but that things very much depend on perſons. And this being the caſe, what foreign ſtate deſires to have engagements with a Prince, whoſe affairs, by having at every moment a new court, can never be long upon the ſame foot: he may indeed be applied to by thoſe of his neighbours who want his purſe and help, but he will have few allies and confederates contented to be with him upon equal terms, and as much to his as to their advantage; for a wiſe ſtate will be as unwilling to enter into ſtrict

ſtrict and important alliances with ſuch a Prince, as a prudent man would be to contract a ſolemn friendſhip with one who was always known to be of an inconſtant temper.

There are two ranks of men who may have it in their minds to repair to courts, in order to better their conditions: firſt, ſuch as hope, by merit, to advance themſelves to high honours and preferments: ſecondly, ſuch as may come thither with great titles and fortunes already made, who think their pretenſions to power juſt, becauſe their virtues, birth and parts deſerve it.

Among the firſt ſort, what encouragement can there be to think of riſing by long and faithful ſervice (and ſo to reach the top at laſt) in a court accuſtomed to intercept its beſt ſervants in the middle of their courſe? Do not theſe thoughts make men of real abilities and worth afraid to come upon ground ſo ſlippery, and where it is in a manner impoſſible for the moſt wary feet to ſtand any time? What has been the conſequence of all this for ſeveral years? The court was ſhunned by the honeſteſt and ableſt men to ſerve it, and crowded with ſuch as were reſolved to grow rich apace, and ſo to be too quick for any of the nimbleſt turns of fortune. And was not "this making over-much haſte to be rich" (which in the late reigns has been ſo viſible in the men of buſineſs) the principal cauſe of the abuſes and corruptions that have been complained of, and which have coſt England ſo very dear?

As to the other rank, what invitation can there be for men of the firſt quality to enter into the management of affairs, when they are to hold their poſts and offices by ſo ſlender a tenure, when their power is to depend upon chance, and not their own endowments, and when they are thus

ſet up, like meteors, to be gazed on for a while, and then to diſappear?

Without doubt, it is a ſtrong ſupport to the throne, to have about it men of high birth, who come into the ſervice of their Sovereign with large fortunes of their own, not made at court, and of whoſe anceſtors the people read every day in the chronicles of paſt times. When ſuch perſons have courage, eloquence, parts, experience, and a ſound judgment, their greatneſs is not invidious among the vulgar, who applaud the Prince's making choice of ſuch a man, and think one ſo qualified has a kind of right to any of the chief ſtations in the commonwealth. But, when a miniſter has theſe abilities, it is not worth his while to exert himſelf, unleſs it be in a court which he ſees is ſteady and conſtant in its meaſures.

That courage and reſolution, without which it is impoſſible to carry on a good and wiſe government, muſt be grounded on a belief, that he who acts well ſhall be juſtified, and that intrigues, falſe inſinuations, and malicious whiſpers, ſhall never be ſuffered to bear him down, whoſe integrity is perfect, and whoſe conduct is without reproach.

But in a free country, when it happens to be divided into parties, it is almoſt as difficult for Princes to ſupport good miniſters, as it is for bad Princes to think of defending a corrupt ſet of ſtateſmen againſt the reſentment and voices of their people; for as good patriots believe it their duty to attack an ill adminiſtration, ſo wicked men conceive it to be their intereſt not to give time for order and right management to take place, and be eſtabliſhed; for whatever is well done, is an effectual impeachment of their proceedings; therefore, where there has been a long ſeries of miſ-

government,

government, they who come after, with intentions to mend things, muſt expect to be aſſaulted, and to have for adverſaries all ſuch as think themſelves arraigned by a better conduct in the perſons by whom they are ſucceeded.

And where corruptions are become ſo extenſive, that the guilty are almoſt as many as the innocent; where they who have robbed the publick, and they who would have given up the conſtitution, are active, inſolent, proud of their numbers, and graſping at power, when they ſhould think impunity much more than they could in reaſon hope for; where all this is, and where the country likewiſe is divided in religious matters, it will not be hard to form ſuch a faction as may raiſe clamours, traduce, and, under popular pretences, diſturb and interrupt the meaſures of the moſt faithful ſervants of the crown, who are no other ways to be protected, in ſuch a caſe, from the ſtrength and violence of their ambitious and deſigning enemies, than by the courage and reſolution of the Prince.

As it is not conſiſtent with the ſafety of Princes their wiſdom, nor indeed with their duty to God, whoſe vicegerents they are, to let their perſonal kindneſs to private men go ſo far, as to defend miniſters, who, by their unſkilfulneſs, negligence, or perhaps by high crimes, are become obnoxious to the whole people; ſo, on the other ſide, it is a ſafe, wiſe, and a religious duty, for them to take into protection their faithful ſervants, and to ſhield them againſt ſuch enmities as, by juſt and upright dealing, they muſt of neceſſity contract in a corrupt and a divided country.

It is true, where there are parties, it is not ſo eaſy for the Sovereign to judge whether the accuſation is well grounded, or only the reſult of

malice; peradventure, the beſt guide in this caſe, is not ſo much to conſider the perſon accuſed, as who are his accuſers, and who take his part. If there are frequent complaints of his conduct, and ſtill urged from the beſt men, though not the ſtrongeſt in numbers, and if he is defended, though by a majority that are under his influence, embarked all along in his deſigns, and who have been partakers in his crimes, ſuch a miniſter is a greater load than it is fit a wiſe Prince ſhould bear. On the other hand, if the accuſers are known to be ambitious, impatient of a good, and hankering after a looſe and corrupt government; if they give ſigns of aiming at ſuch a one, as that under it they may rob the publick with impunity; if this reforming ſpirit is in them quite new; if, from their paſt behaviour, it appears that they find fault with the adminiſtration for no other reaſon but becauſe it is not in their own, or in ſuch hands as they like; and if the perſon accuſed is juſtified in his proceedings and meaſures by all ſuch as are diſintereſted, ſagacious, without prejudice or paſſion, and who are known to have no other aims, but that right government may be promoted, and that the ſtate may flouriſh. In ſuch caſes, heretofore, reſolute, wiſe and virtuous Princes have not regarded who were the majority, but w ere truth lay, and how the common welfare might be beſt conſulted; and having duly weighed the merits of their ſervant, and conſidered as well the objections to him, as the temper of his friends and enemies, they have interpoſed with the regal power, to preſerve a juſt and able miniſter againſt the rage of miſtaken numbers, by whom the innocent may ſometimes be aſſaulted and oppreſſed.

If the majority had been never known to err, we might believe it not capable of error in times

to

to come; but where parties have long ſubſiſted, anger and prejudice have ſometimes hurried them into councils, which, upon cooler thoughts and better recollection, had been avoided. Princes, therefore, who prudently ſtem theſe ſudden tides, and are willing, on one hand, to reſign offenders up to juſtice, but, on the other, are ſteady and firm to protect innocence, give men time to recollect themſelves, and ſo reaſon grows, at laſt, to regain that dominion over their minds, which was uſurped before by paſſion.

Sovereigns, who have not this firmneſs of mind, upon which the innocent may ſecurely rely for their protection, muſt never expect to be ſerved by the beſt ſort of men, who, careful of their fame, and having a great ſtock of reputation in the world to loſe, are loth to ſtake it on their ſide by whom they are ſure to be abandoned in every the leaſt attack that ſhall be made upon them; and in a divided country, to manage ſo as to be without enemies, is almoſt impoſſible. Who then will engage in the ſervice of an unſteady Prince? Perſons who know themſelves to be of ſo little conſequence, that it is quite indifferent what becomes of them, a forlorn hope, food for powder, and fit matter for any ſudden fury of the vulgar to ſpend itſelf upon; men obſcure, or of deſperate fortunes, who, though greedy of honours, are yet aſhamed of no diſgraces, who are pleaſed to be journeymen or day-labourers in a court, glad to be in ſervice, though but for a week, and who ſubmit to be taken in, or to be thrown out, as it beſt ſerves the preſent turn. But can it be proper that the palace ſhould be filled with ſuch a mean and ſervile crew? and, in former ages, what has been the effect of a miniſtry ſo compoſed? Have not the people, by being

accuſtomed to pull down the weak ſupports about and near it, come at laſt to aſſault the very throne?

To which may be added, that the frequent changes which had been of officers in the ſtate, occaſioned the faction that was called "The league for the publick good," which, in the beginning of Lewis the eleventh's reign, produced a civil war in France.

They who adminiſter well, of courſe will have to friends, true patriots, all wiſe and honeſt men; but where there are parties, a right adminiſtration is not always pleaſing, it diſtaſtes the ambitious intriguers on both ſides; in ſome, it may thwart their avarice or over-weening opinion of themſelves, it may not proceed faſt enough for the inconſiderate zeal or paſſion of others, or it may be too ſevere for thoſe who have ſeen and felt what wealth was to be acquired in a looſe and careleſs management. Good miniſters, therefore, in the perpetual conflicts they are certain to have with the heats and indiſcretions, or with the vices and corruption of the times, muſt be ſupported by the unſhaken courage and well-grounded reſolution of their Prince.

And this magnanimity in Sovereigns emboldens ſuch as are about them to perſevere in juſt meaſures for the publick, and to give faithful and diſintereſted advices, not what are pleaſant to the taſte, but what will be wholeſome in the digeſtion; whereas, in kingdoms where they are attacked on ſlight occaſions, and with the ſame levity deſerted, they adapt their proceedings to what ſeems the preſent temper of the prevailing ſide, let the future conſequence be what it will; and, every thing conſidered, peradventure it is not eaſy to determine who is the moſt pernicious miniſter, in relation

relation to the whole government, he who makes his court by flattering the Prince in whatever he does, and by purſuing all his worſt inclinations, or he who looks no farther than to affect being popular, by taking aim, in all his tranſactions for the ſtate, from what he thinks is the immediate ſenſe of the ſuperior party, be it right or wrong.

This magnanimity is not ſhewn in obſtinately defending bad men in a bad cauſe. One of the braveſt of our Kings, Henry the fourth, removed from court four of his ſervants at once, for no other reaſon but that they were ſo unfortunate as not to be grateful to the people; [Rot. Parl. 5 Hen. 4. No. 16.] but it was at a time when there were no diviſions in the kingdom; and probably the vices of theſe four were viſible to others, though concealed from him. Indeed, where factions reign, it is difficult for Princes to judge upon whom they ſhould ſhine, and from whom they ſhould withdraw their favour; but when this happens to be the caſe, they will ſeldom err in openly joining with the virtuous to ſupport truth and virtue.

Generally ſpeaking, the ſuggeſtions of ſuch a courage as is governed by wiſdom, are the trueſt lights, not only for Princes, but for private men in their ſervice, to follow. The fearful dare not ſo much as deſire help: "Pavor etiam auxilia formidat." He who finds within himſelf a heart not capable of great affairs, ſhould avoid engaging in the buſineſs of a ſtate; the paſſion of fear will ſo often diſorder his reaſon, as to make him liable to errors without number; and, as to matters of government, the fearful are directly ſlaves to thoſe who are bolder than themſelves. But this holds yet more ſtrongly in countries that are divided: for can the enemies of a great man deſire a fairer

game

game againſt him, than to know, that though they have not ſkill enough to defeat the meaſures of his wiſdom, yet that they are able to bring him over to their deſigns and intereſt, by working upon his fears?

A miniſter of ſtate, fully qualified for the ſervice of his Prince, ſhould be afraid of doing nothing but what is ill in itſelf, and againſt the rules of virtue, his own honour, and the honour, intereſt, or advantage of his country; he ſhould not only be a brave, but a magnanimous man, whom Ariſtotle, in his Ethics to Nicomachus [lib. 4.] thus deſcribes: "He is one who ſtrives to do great things, or what may be for great ends, and by which he may acquire great honour; he is not therefore ſo apt to run into frequent dangers, as into great ones, not prompt for every turn, but rather ſlow and deliberate; he will not raſhly undertake even great matters, but with council and good caution; he is not much taken up with the care of worldly concerns, as not thinking them either great enough, or of much account; but honour is, in his eſteem, as the higheſt of human external benefits, inaſmuch as he obſerves, it is the higheſt thing we have to pay, even to the gods."

And this philoſopher [ibid. lib. 2.] ſays, "That the true medium in virtue, and that which is its very beſt, muſt be aſcertained with regard unto time, and to occaſions, and to the perſons with whom, or for whoſe ſake we act, and to the manner of acting."

Andronicus defines courage "To be a virtue by which a man carries himſelf ſtoutly, and with circumſpection, through all the affairs that have relation to the publick."

Thus

Thus ſtood the opinions of theſe wiſe men, as to magnanimity, virtue and courage. But they would have their magnanimous man, who attempts great things, or what may be for great ends, to be ſlow and deliberate, to proceed with council and caution, to have regard to time and occaſions, and to the perſons with whom he has to deal, and to be ſtout, but ſtill with circumſpection.

There is courage in action and in council. The firſt is military virtue, which is a noble ardour, puſhing men on to perform great deeds, that they may acquire much fame. He who has it in perfection ſhrinks at no perils he is going to encounter, and is preſent to himſelf in the hotteſt dangers, and when they are come upon him. This ſort of courage is what properly belongs to ſuch as are to ſerve Princes in the buſineſs of their wars.

That conſtancy of mind, which is not ſurpriſed at a new, ſudden, and unexpected accident, but is ready, with an undiſturbed judgment, to determine, in an inſtant, what is fit to be done upon it; that firm reſolution which is not to be diverted from what is right, by the voices of the people; that unſhaken temper that can wait a long time, till the fruit of wiſdom is grown ripe, and, in the mean while, with patience bear the obloquies of men, is what may be called courage in council, and is one of the principal virtues neceſſary to the compoſition of a good ſtateſman, whoſe ſervice the Prince makes uſe of only in civil matters.

Courage in the field is more popular, and ſhines moſt, and it is the trueſt courſe of obtaining ſolid and laſting greatneſs; for power, which is attained by meer wiſdom, has ſeldom been ſeen ſtrong enough to reſiſt faction, envy, and the intrigues of a court; and therefore ſuch as have been miniſters

for the council, or execution of affairs meerly civil, unleſs under very wiſe reigns, have been rarely long-lived; for none but the wiſe ſee what is done by wiſdom, and they are not often a numerous party. But the effects of valour make a greater ſhow, and are viſible to the whole people, for which reaſon, he who endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf by repeated proofs of his courage, and by military ſkill and conduct, forms a real ſtrength, ſuch as is able to ſupport him in the conſtant ſtruggles men of eminent worth, and in high ſtations, muſt be ſure to meet with. Nor does this hold any where more truly than in this kingdom, where the vulgar are more apt to admire the marks of great valour, than the reſults of deep prudence.

And yet, where there are diviſions, valour, the virtue which is of ſuch uſe to a country that has a big war upon its hands, can hardly defend itſelf againſt detraction. At any other time, ſuch a ſucceſs as the taking of Bonn, the 5th of May, in the beginning of the campaign, would have been received with univerſal applauſe: and though it was thought of ſuch conſequence by the French, as to be garriſoned by 13 old regiments, and though it ſecures all the Lower Rhine, yet they who are reſolved to be angry, will always find ſomewhat to complain of; and if the commander in chief purſues his own natural inclinations, and puſhes on the war with vigour, they are apt to ſay he conſumes the blood and treaſure of the kingdom in forming ſieges and taking towns, which muſt be all reſtored at the concluſion of a peace; that he only regards to increaſe his own glory and renown, and that therefore he has preſſed ſo earneſtly for action in all the councils of war, and, by his memorials, has ſhewn how needful

needful it was to make ſome bold and brave attempts, which might give reputation to the confederate affairs abroad, at a ſeaſon when they declined in other parts: at the ſame time others, who ſit at home at their eaſe, cry, Why were not the lines attacked? we pay taxes, and nothing is done; never conſidering the difficulties a general lies under who commands confederate troops, and who muſt act in concert with others. They never aſk the queſtion, Will this be otherwiſe next year? or, Have the allies conſented that the captain-general, hereafter, ſhall have a more abſolute command over the whole army? In the mean while, they reckon for nothing the taking of Huy, by which the conqueſt of all upon the Meuſe is forwarded, nor the reducing the town, caſtle and dutchy of Limburg, with whatever elſe he may have deſigned, for the future ſervice of his Prince and of the common cauſe.

Thus, in a divided country, men will cenſure whatever is done, either in the cabinet or in the field, againſt which there is no ſuch ſure defence for great men, as to do what is right and wiſe, without regarding which ſide is pleaſed or diſpleaſed with their actions or councils; and if their meaſures are founded upon truth and virtue, this conſtancy of mind, and this noble contempt of popular diſcourſes, will not only prevail, but, at the long run, muſt receive univerſal approbation.

In all affairs whatſoever, it is natural, both for the great and little vulgar, to deſire more haſte ſhould be made, than may, peradventure, conſiſt with the rules of prudence; but eſpecially parties never think their friends move faſt enough, not reflecting that they, who make too much ſpeed at firſt, may come to want breath before the race is half performed.

And

And when there is a faction in the ſtate, corrupt, ambitious, implacable, reſtleſs, bred under a looſe adminiſtration, impatient of a good one, and graſping at power which they ſo much abuſed when they were in poſſeſſion of it, perhaps ſuch a ſtrength is beſt reduced by obſerving the conduct of Fabius Maximus, who avoided, as much as poſſible, to engage in battle with an enemy, deſperate, active, and full of ſtratagems; and though his encamping upon the mountains, his caution and ſlow courſes were derided for a time, yet at laſt he was eſteemed the only wiſe man among the Romans, when the temerity, firſt of his colleague Minutius, then of Terentius Varro, had brought them to the very brink of ruin.

Factions in the ſtate, ſects in religion, and armies reduced to ſtreights, are ever deſirous to be in action; they conſume of themſelves, and dwindle away to nothing, when you are ſtrongly intrenched near them, when you cut off their proviſions, and watch their motions. What can men, brought to deſpair, wiſh for more, than a day for the deciſion of their fortune? This Hannibal ſaw, and tried all arts to provoke Fabius to fight, but Fabius was too wiſe to be provoked to do what was againſt the publick intereſt, though inſulted by his enemies in the Carthaginian army, and though cenſured by his own friends, as well in the city as in the ſenate; but, as Ennius obſerved, his prudent cunctation, or ſlow proceedings, reſtored the commonwealth.

The ſame conduct will perhaps ſubdue factions and religious ſects, againſt which the publick is to intrench itſelf by ruling well, by a management without reproach, and by diſcountenancing ſuch as endeavour to give diſturbance to the ſtate; where all this is done, its adverſaries moulder away

away by degrees, ſtarve in their camp, and muſt diſband of courſe, whereas they grow conſiderable, and begin to think they are upon an equal foot with that government which deſcends ſo low as frequently to join in battle with them.

But miniſters, who will take this ſlow, but ſure method of healing breaches, and appeaſing the diviſions of a kingdom, muſt arm themſelves with the patience and courage of our noble Roman; like him, they muſt not ſtartle and give ground upon rumours and calumnies: and to bear all this, is one of the duties they owe to their Prince and country, who cannot pretend to hold the balance, or to be ſafe and happy at home, nor indeed to make any ſort of figure abroad, while civil diſcord rages.

The Tarentins once ſent embaſſadors to interpoſe in ſome differences that had happened between the Romans and the Samnites, but they were laughed at by the conſul Papirius, for pretending to meddle in the affairs of other countries, when they were rent aſunder by their own domeſtick quarrels: "Vaniſſimam increpans gentem, quæ ſuarum impotens rerum præ domeſticis ſeditionibus diſcordiiſque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere æquum cenſeret."

Whatever in the beginning we might propoſe, of going ſo far and no farther, of confining ourſelves to ſuch a quota of ſhips, men and money, in all likelihood this war, as it is the moſt neceſſary, moſt honourable, and the juſteſt, ſo it will be found the greateſt that ever England undertook.

For the diſpute is not the ſame now as it was for many years, when the arms of Europe were employed to prevent France and the houſe of Auſtria from getting ground one upon the other, and

and to keep the balance even between two powers that of themſelves were in a manner equal. To do this required but a ſmall exertion of ſtrength: we could then at any time have turned the ſcale, and with no very great expence, which made our Henry the eighth (when this kingdom made far a leſs figure than it does at preſent) take this motto: "He prevails whom I join with, Cui adhæreo præeſt." But the face of things is now quite altered; that equality in dominion, which was ſo eaſily kept poiſed, is loſt; we are to aid a weak ſide againſt that which is ſtronger by many degrees, and conſequently we muſt come into the other ſcale with a much greater weight than ever we did, or it will be ſtill too light.

Affairs are brought to ſuch a criſis, that if the houſe of Auſtria is not in a condition to oppoſe France, it cannot exiſt at all: if his Imperial Majeſty is not ſo aſſiſted, as to be ſuperior in the war, the German ſtrength will be ſo broken as hardly to riſe again in ſome years, and if that bulwark be overthrown, what is there to ſtand in the way of univerſal empire?

The matter in controverſy between theſe two great powers, ſeems incapable of accommodation; both lay claim to the whole ſucceſſion of Spain. If ſuch an addition be made to the French monarchy, Europe, in all appearance, muſt be ruined; it is therefore the general intereſt, that thoſe dominions ſhould be poſſeſſed, as heretofore, by a branch of the houſe of Auſtria: but the one is in poſſeſſion, and the other unable to aſſert its rights without conſiderable aſſiſtance, which is no where to be had but from England, Portugal, and the United Provinces, upon whom the burthen muſt chiefly lie, as in reaſon it ought, becauſe we and they ſhall be moſt hurt by the growth of France.

All

All theſe things, with our ancient enmity to that kingdom, and the danger of religion being conſidered, it is perhaps evident enough that this war will be the moſt bloody, and the longeſt, that has been ſeen in Chriſtendom for many ages, unleſs ſuch vigorous efforts and impreſſions are made betimes, as may bring it to a ſpeedy iſſue.

But if we, upon whoſe courage and perſeverance the reſt of Europe muſt ſo much depend, are embroiled at home, what figure can we make abroad? Where will be that ſecrecy and diſpatch in buſineſs that is ſo needful in the conduct of great affairs? and what vigour can there be in divided councils? What ſucceſs can they expect, who waſte that time in contending with one another for power and dominion, which ſhould be employed in conſulting for their common defence? or how can they, who are broken among themſelves, oppoſe a well-united ſtrength? Who can rule well when the wheels of government are clogged, where each ſide endeavours to put the other in the wrong, though with the hazard of their country's honour and ſafety, where you are not only to oppoſe attacks from without, but to provide againſt miſchiefs from within, and where nothing is thought wiſe that does not ſucceed, becauſe there is a ſide to cry it down, and where folly, raſhneſs, and ill-concerted meaſures paſs for current, and are approved of, becauſe there is a ſide to cry them up?

Irreſolution, delays, treachery, fruitleſs conſumption of ſtrength, loſs of opportunities, and many more miſchiefs, are the effects of civil diſſention; where that prevails, you are often compelled to do that which will pleaſe the majority, rather than what in itſelf is juſt and fit: and to

what ſtreights is wiſdom then reduced, concerning whoſe reſults only the few can judge aright, and in which the many muſt determine before they can have effect? Whereas in great aſſemblies, where there are no diviſions, and where parties are not concerned to form oppoſitions, folly is frequently wrought upon, and convinced by the good ſenſe of the ſmaller number. So that they who hope to be proſperous abroad, muſt endeavour to have the people at unity, and well cemented at home, and, as Flaminius adviſed the Ætolians, lay aſide tumults where conſultation is needful: "Deſiſtite tumultuari conſultandum eſt."

When affairs in the government are ſo conducted that particular men cannot find their account in keeping up factions, they vaniſh of themſelves: when advances are made to all that ſhew any real deſires of returning into the boſom of the commonwealth; when all ſides, that have equal deſerts, ſtand upon an equal foot in their pretenſions; when old objections are forgotten, in their caſes who are able and willing to ſerve the publick for the future; when partialities and animoſities are quite laid aſide; when the good of both ſides are chearfully embraced on all hands, and the bad are deſpiſed and abandoned, peace and union come in by degrees, and inſenſibly take poſſeſſion in the hearts and minds of the whole people; all men grow to have one and the ſame intereſt, and your bottom is ſo enlarged, that you are ſtrong at home and terrible abroad.

Now and then, indeed, it happens that men are compelled to join in what is called a party, for their own preſervation, as the Romans did, ſome with Sylla, and the reſt with Marius, where the ſide that got the upper-hand endeavoured to ſecure them-

themſelves by the ruin and extirpation of the others, and, as fortune changed, both ſides had opportunities to exerciſe their mutual rage, from whence followed murthers, accuſations, baniſhments, proſcriptions, and all the other miſchiefs with which civil diſſention is attended.

Few factions are at any height, but at laſt they proceed to ſome of theſe extremes, and if one ſide has as much rancour as the other, the commonwealth muſt bleed for ever; therefore, if one party happens to have been haraſſed by thoſe who were heretofore ſuperior, but are then reduced, they that have the better ſhould lay aſide their anger and reſentment; for nothing more tends to perpetuate faction, than thoſe exertions of fury to which revenge incites us. Does one ſide proſcribe your friend to-day, you attempt to proſcribe him upon the next occaſion. So, during the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, our noble families attainted one another, until moſt of them were ruined or extinguiſhed: the unforgiving temper that then reigned made thoſe wounds continue ſo long open. One inſtance of revenge, though it be juſt, ſeldom fails to produce another, and he always thinks his own cauſe right who has received the lateſt injury; whereas you have quite diſarmed that enemy, whom you ſhall treat better than he treated you, when at his mercy. And ſince, in all theſe caſes, peace muſt enſue at laſt, or the publick will be quite deſtroyed, they ſhew the greateſt generoſity, who, having gained the field, are the firſt to promote a truce, and to propoſe that acts of hoſtility may ceaſe.

We ſhould, in this juncture, ſacrifice all our own reſentments and animoſities to the general

good of Europe: we have begun this war for the preſervation of its liberties, and to oppoſe the growth of France, than which there cannot be a juſter cauſe; for it never fares well with the collective body of mankind, when a tyranny is any where ſet up, that is ſupported by large revenues and great armies. Such mighty monarchs diſturb the peace of the whole world; during their times, war, blood-ſhed and devaſtation afflict the univerſe, and no conſiderable country is ſuffered to be at quiet: beſides, their example invites inferior Princes and ſtates to invade the civil rights of their own people.

When ſeveral free countries join together in a league (which is our preſent caſe) and are entered into a great and expenſive war, they ſhould have it in their view to do as much good as poſſibly they can to other nations, whoſe condition they ſhould endeavour to meliorate, by reſtoring to them their antient laws and civil rights, and by helping them to throw off arbitrary power: and it is to be hoped, if our arms prove ſucceſsful, we ſhall imitate the conduct of the Romans in their warlike expeditions, who bettered every place they conquered, which appears from what the ſenate gave in charge to thoſe ambaſſadors they ſent to ſettle Macedon and Illyria. "Omnium primum liberos eſſe placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios; ut omnibus gentibus appareret, arma populi Romani, non liberis ſervitutem, ſed contra ſervientibus libertatem afferre; ut & in libertate gentes quæ eſſent, tutam eam ſibi perpetuamque ſub tutela populi Romani eſſe: & quæ ſub regibus viverent, & in præſens tempus mitiores eos juſtioreſque reſpectu populi Romani habere ſe, & ſi quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuiſſet ſuis, exitum ejus

ejus victoriam Romanis, ſibi libertatem allaturum crederent." Where they vanquiſhed commonwealths, they left them their liberties and laws; and where they reduced Kings to ſubmit, and aſk for terms of peace, they rendered them more mild and eaſy to their ſubjects. And if this be the deſign of Germany, England, and Holland, they may expect a happy iſſue from the juſtice of their intentions, and goodneſs of their cauſe.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa,

THROUGH

The whole Courſe and Progreſs thereof, from the Beginning of the laſt Century, to this Time.

WHEREIN

The Nature and uncommon Circumſtances of that TRADE are particularly conſidered, and all the Arguments urged alternately by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now propoſed by them, for carrying on the ſame to a national Advantage, impartially ſtated and conſidered.

BY ALL WHICH

A clear View is given of ſuch a Conſtitution, as (if eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament) would, in all Probability, render the AFRICAN Trade a permanent, creditable and advantageous Trade to BRITAIN.

Ovid. de Remed. Am.

Et quæ non proſunt ſingula, juncta juvant.

To the READER.

TRADE is ſo univerſally become the celebrated object of the deſires and affections of all nations, that they court it with ſuch eager addreſſes as commonly expoſes many of them to the hazard of encountering violent ſtorms and other dangers; yea frequently, even death itſelf, in all its various and moſt terrible ſhapes. And ſince it is acknowledged that Trade (ſo difficult to be obtained, though eaſily loſt) has been the ſource and chief foundation of the riches, ſtrength, power and greatneſs of this kingdom, it is no wonder if we look, with a very jealous eye, on all ſuch ſteps of any of our neighbouring nations, or others, as may ſeem to have a tendency towards the ſupplanting us in the enjoyment of any eſſential part thereof.

And there being no branch of any foreign trade whatſoever, beyond the limits of Europe, ſo naturally adapted to the intereſt of Britain, and the plantations thereunto belonging, as the trade to Africa is, I thought it might be no unacceptable piece of ſervice to the publick, to beſtow ſome vacant hours in collecting ſuch proper materials as might give a juſt and clear view of the paſt and preſent

preſent ſtate thereof, when ſo many people, of all ſides, ſeem to be induſtriouſly hurried on, into quite different and divided ſentiments, concerning the eſtabliſhment of a conſtitution ſuitable to the nature and circumſtances of that trade; and have therefore, in the following ſheets, adventured to publiſh ſuch matters of fact as have occurred to my obſervation, with my own private ſentiments thereupon.

I have, for the reader's eaſe, endeavoured to obſerve ſomething of a regular method throughout this treatiſe, by dividing it into ſeveral chapters, under different heads, and marking ſome note of every ſection upon the margin, except in the laſt chapter, which is differently diſpoſed; yet the reaſoning part is ſo chained together, in one continued thread, that a ſtranger to the ſeveral points of fact diſcuſſed therein, can ſcarcely be maſter of any one chapter, without referring, in ſeveral particulars, to ſome of the reſt.

I muſt own that, as in many volumes of far greater bulk, ſo in theſe few ſheets, the moſt trifling part takes up the greateſt room, for indeed the moſt material part thereof might have been eaſily comprehended in a much narrower compaſs; but in obviating ſeveral fallacious poſitions and ſuggeſtions inſiſted upon by particular perſons, I was neceſſarily obliged to trace their ſteps through many windings and turnings, backward and forward, which gave occaſion to ſeveral repetitions and digreſſions, which otherways had been altogether needleſs.

I can eaſily foreſee, that ſome people may be apt to miſtake me for ſome perſon concerned in the Royal African Company; but I ſolemnly profeſs, upon my veracity, and as I would be be-

lieved in the greateſt of truths, that I have no particular or immediate concern in either the ſtock of that company, or of any of the ſeparate traders to Africa, and may therefore reaſonably hope to be the leſs ſuſpected of partiality in what I write, concerning both or either of theſe contending parties; yea, I can ſafely aver, that, when firſt I entered upon making any particular enquiry into the nature and ſtate of the African trade, for my own private ſatisfaction, no man in this city could have had leſs biaſs upon his inclination, in relation to that matter: but when, in my ſearch after truth, I met with what to me ſeemed to be a certain evidence (whether ſo or not) it was not poſſible for me to ſtand proof againſt conviction; and having once fully convinced myſelf, I could not well ſtand neuter any longer in ſuch a national concern. And I hope, that my having been at ſome pains to convince myſelf in the firſt place, may probably be one good ſtep towards the convincing of others.

If, in the warmth of reaſoning, I may have happened to drop any word or ſentence, at which either of the parties may take the leaſt offence, it is more than I intended; for, I am ſo far from having any perſonal prejudice againſt any of them, that, even where I ſeem to be hardeſt on either ſide, I ſhun pointing at any one man in particular, and indeed, all along, I mean no more than barely to overturn ſuch of their arguments as ſeemed to have no real foundation: but the truth is, it was almoſt impoſſible to touch any of the ſeparate traders pamphlets, without the hazard of being infected with ſome part of the ſcurrility of their ſtile and language, at leaſt ſo far as to make it recoil upon the authors.

The

The Italians (who are ſaid to be a moſt cunning and diſcerning people) have a very odd, but ſhrewd proverbial prayer, " God preſerve me from my friends; I'll beware of my enemies." The moral of which is, no doubt, that our friends (if they take advantage thereof) have many more opportunities of betraying, deceiving, and over-reaching us, than our profeſſed enemies can ever be ſuppoſed to have. The conſideration of which may ſufficiently juſtify my being ſo particular, in ſeveral chapters, concerning the proceedings of our friends, the Dutch, and ſeparate traders on the coaſt of Africa.

RE-

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Conſtitution and Management

OF THE

AFRICAN TRADE, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

EXperience, that great baffler of ſpeculation, makes it evident, by innumerable inſtances, which may be brought from the annals and tranſactions of all ages, that the wiſeſt of councils, even parliaments, have been, and ſtill may be, miſtaken in their meaſures and views of things, whenever they proceed either upon miſinformation as to points of fact, or upon bare ſpeculative ſuppoſitions.

Thence it is, that our legiſlators have ſo frequently, upon better information, found it neceſſary to alter, amend, and ſometimes repeal ſeveral laws

laws and acts, even of their own making, and to enact new ones in their ſtead.

When the parliament, ann. 9 and 10 Gul. thought fit to paſs an act for ſettling the trade to Africa, in ſuch manner as is particularly expreſſed in the ſaid act, beyond all peradventure, they did it upon ſuch grounds and views as ſeemed moſt reaſonable to them at the time; and I freely own, that though I had not any particular concern in that act, yet I was one of the number of thoſe who could not then forbear expreſſing a ſatisfaction at the paſſing thereof, as giving implicit credit to the plauſible topick then made uſe of, That the laying of that trade open, without any reſtraint or limitation, would not only have been more agreeable to the common liberty of the ſubject, but be likewiſe a mean to improve and carry it on, to the more general ſatisfaction and advantage of the whole nation; for the truth is, I had not then examined, or fully conſidered, the nature and circumſtances of that trade, as differing from that of all others in many reſpects.

Yet when, in the courſe of above 10 years tryal and experience of letting that trade lie open to all her majeſty's ſubjects indiſtinctly, we ſee that the ſucceſs thereof falls ſo far ſhort of our expectations, that neither the company alone, nor the ſeparate traders jointly conſidered, nor the Britiſh plantations in America, nor the nation in general, are gainers thereby; yea, that on the contrary, the company's joint ſtock ſeems to be daily decreaſing, the ſeparate traders are ſome of them ruined, and others diſcouraged by conſiderable loſſes, the planters complaining extremely of the great ſcarcity of, and extravagant advance upon the price of negroes, while others, at the ſame time,

time, are complaining of the low and mean prices of woollen and other Britiſh manufactures on the coaſt of Guinea; and if ſome few of them happen to be gainers by that trade, I have too much ground to believe, that their ſucceſs is not ſo much the effect of the preſent conſtitution, as of ſome other indirect cauſes: the conſideration of all which did induce me to make ſome enquiry into what ſhould be the real cauſe of this great diſappointment to the nation; and for obtaining ſatisfaction therein, I was deſirous to have, in the firſt place, converſed with, and procured information from ſome of the ſeparate traders themſelves, as to what related more immediately to their ſeveral and reſpective intereſts, but theſe gentlemen not having any particular fixed place, nor common truſtees or ſervants, that I know of, for keeping any general record of their proceedings, correſpondencies, diſcoveries or obſervations, I found it impracticable to obtain ſuch information or ſatisfaction from them, as the nature of the caſe ſeems to require; and ſome few of them, with whom I had occaſion to converſe upon that head, inſiſted mainly on the bad ſucceſs of the preſent company, and that with ſuch indecent language and deſpiteful reflections, as, I own, gave me but a very indifferent impreſſion of either their temper or veracity, though, as to their own performances, they commonly ſhifted treating of ſuch particulars as could be of any material uſe for my preſent purpoſe, but referred me generally to thoſe political computations and accounts of things, which were preſented by them, or in their names, to the commiſſioners for trade and plantations, and to ſuch printed abſtracts thereof as were diſperſed among the members

members of parliament the laſt year, on which I could truly lay but very little ſtreſs, eſpecially ſince I ſaw the ſuggeſtions therein contained ſo flatly contradicted, and (at leaſt ſeemingly) confuted by ſome certain obſervations thereupon, which were ſoon thereafter printed and publiſhed, on behalf of the Royal African Company. But I ſhall take occaſion to conſider theſe political computations more particularly hereafter, in their proper place.

I had then recourſe to a worthy gentleman of that company, who, gueſſing at the deſign of my enquiry, very frankly and courteouſly procured me a ſight of their books, and ordered one of their clerks to allow me, whenever I pleaſed, the peruſal of all ſuch advices and accounts as were, at any time, ſent home to the company, either from the coaſt of Africa or the Weſtern Plantations, which (notwithſtanding all the difficulties under which I find they have long ſtruggled) yielded me infinitely more ſatisfaction than at firſt I could have well imagined; for whoſoever would be at the pains to go through the ſeveral volumes of memoirs, declarations, affidavits and epiſtolatory accounts which they have by them, full of the company's tranſactions with relation to the Dutch, French, Portugueze, Danes, Brandenburghers, natives, interlopers, and ſeparate traders, upon that coaſt, for many years paſt, may eaſily ſee that the different intereſts and deſigns of our many contending rivals, for engroſſing the riches and trade of that vaſt continent, together with the many new circumſtances and unexpected emergencies which muſt daily attend ſuch a rivalſhip and emulation in trade, do naturally require a very conſiderable joint ſtock, a

coercive power, exact œconomy, intenſe and vigilant application, and a larger ſhare of the royal and parliamentary countenance at home, and protection abroad, than the preſent company has ever had, for carrying on that trade, ſo as to make it a permanent, creditable and advantageous trade to the nation.

To illuſtrate which poſition, I ſhall not amuſe the reader with long prefatory diſcourſes, concerning the many advantages of foreign trade in general, or of this valuable branch thereof in particular, that being a point ſo univerſally acknowledged already, that the going about to prove it would be almoſt as needleſs as to write an elaborate diſſertation for proving that the ſun, without the interpoſition of a cloud, muſt ſhine in our horizon by twelve o'clock of the day.

But taking it therefore as unqueſtionably granted, that the trade to Africa is, and muſt always be, of very great importance to Britain, and the Britiſh plantations in America, I ſhall briefly ſtate the main queſtion in debate thus: Whether, as we are now circumſtanced, with relation to our many foreign competitors on the coaſt of Africa, it may be thought more adviſeable, for the nation's intereſt and advantage, to carry on that trade by a collective ſociety of capable and intelligeſit men, having one and the ſame joint ſtock, intereſt, deſigns, and uniform rules of government and management, with excluſive privileges, &c. or by all ſuch perſons, indiſtinctly, as have a mind to trade thither, when and how they pleaſe, with ſeparate ſtocks, divided intereſts, and different deſigns and rules of management?

Truly, for my part, I think that, according to ſuch views as I have now of theſe matters, the very putting of the queſtion ſeems near to reſolve it; yet, in order to diſcuſs it more diſtinctly, and to the more general ſatisfaction of all who think themſelves any way concerned, and that I may not ſeem to advance my own opinion too magiſterially, without conſidering the nature and importance of the point controverted, I ſhall, with as much brevity and perſpicuity as I can, make ſome retroſpection into the progreſs of our trade to Africa, ever ſince we had any footing there, conſider the methods and politicks always practiſed by our rivals on that coaſt, and, by comparing the tranſactions of paſt times with our preſent circumſtances, draw ſuch natural inferences and concluſions from the ſame, as (without regard to the private intereſt, caprice, humour or deſigns of particular contending parties) may ſeem moſt agreeable to reaſon, and moſt conducive to the improvement and ſecurity of the Britiſh intereſt in general, on that coaſt, for the future.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

An account of the riſe and progreſs of our trade to Africa, preceding the year 1697.

The firſt attempt made by the Engliſh, for trading to Africa, proved abortive.

ABOUT the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's, and in the beginning of her ſucceſſor King James's reign, ſome London adventurers made ſeveral attempts, ſeparately, for carrying on a trade to the coaſt of Africa; yet all that I can find any of them ever gained thereby, was merely a bare diſcovery, and dear-bought experience, that probably an advantageous trade might have been carried on thither, provided they had had a ſtock and power ſufficient for that end, and had known how to preſerve their men from the dangerous influence and effects of the peſtilentious air of that ſtrange climate, and from the barbarous cruelties of the treacherous natives. But theſe adventurers wanting proper means for the aforeſaid purpoſes, and meeting with ſome ſevere rebukes upon that account, did, by degrees, lay aſide all thoughts of making any farther attempts that way.

King James 1ſt grants an excluſive charter for trading to Africa.

Whereupon King James did, in the 16th year of his reign, grant a charter, under the great ſeal of England, to Sir Robert Rich and other citizens of London therein mentioned, together with ſuch other perſons as they ſhould think fit, to aſſume and incorporate into one body politick, for raiſing a joint ſtock to carry on a trade to Africa, and that with excluſive privileges, as to all his Majeſty's other ſubjects, under no leſs penalty than the forfeiture

of both ſhip and cargo, to the uſe of theſe joint adventurers, for their encouragement.

Private traders intrude, and then the trade is quite relinquiſhed.

But ſcarcely had this infant company of joint adventurers made the experiment of two or three ſeveral voyages, when ſome other private merchants, becoming envious of theſe their fellow-citizens apparent view of ſucceſs, would needs try their own fortunes likewiſe, by interloping clandeſtinely upon the ſame coaſt; upon diſcovery whereof, ſome diſputes did ariſe between them and the company, which breaking out ſoon thereafter into an open rupture, the company inſiſted upon the privileges of their charter, the other on their natural right; and both parties growing wearied at laſt with ſuch debates, as well as with their mutual loſſes, withdrew the ſhattered remains of their ſeveral and reſpective ſtocks, by which means that trade happened to lie again wholly neglected for ſome years together.

The Dutch very intent on that trade.

In the mean time, ſome other European nations, but more eſpecially the Dutch, purſuing ſtill their deſigns of fixing and ſecuring to themſelves the trade of Africa, by cultivating a friendſhip with the natives, building of forts, and ſettling of factories on that coaſt, and by ſupplanting the Portugueze, who were ſettled there long before them, ſome of our moſt intelligent merchants repreſented the ſame to King Charles the firſt, as alſo the conſequences which they thought might naturally attend the ſupine neglect of that trade; whereupon his Majeſty did, in the 7th year of his reign, grant a new charter, under the great ſeal, to Humphrey Slaney, Nicholas Criſp and Co. with ſuch ample privileges,

K. Charles 1ſt grants an excluſive charter, which was confirmed by the Uſurpers, in 1651.

vileges, excluſions, prohibitions and penalties, as in the former charter were contained: which laſt charter was, in the year 1651, confirmed and exemplified to Rowland Wilſon and Co. by the governing power at that time.

But conſidering the many convulſive fits and diſtractions which in thoſe days embroiled and confounded the government of both church and ſtate throughout this iſland, we need not wonder that our trade to Africa fell, at the ſame time, into very great diſorders; for the unreſtrained liberty which interlopers aſſumed of trading as they pleaſed, without any regard to the rights of the company, ſet them and the company together by the ears; and then the Dutch and Daniſh companies, taking hold of the opportunity which our domeſtick commotions and diviſions did adminiſter to their deſigns, they increaſed the number of their forts, factories and ſhips of war on the coaſt of Africa, by which they not only encouraged, advanced and defended their own trade and navigation, but likewiſe wholly obſtructed that of their neighbours; inſomuch that, beſide demoliſhing the forts, and quite ruining the ſtock of that company, they took the ſhips and goods of other private Engliſh traders, to the value of about £. 300,000, as appeared by their petitions to the parliament after the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond.

Interlopers break in: the trade is quite open.

The Dutch and Danes ſeize the ſhips and goods of Engliſh traders, and the trade ruined.

How far theſe loſſes were any way conſidered or repaired by that parliament, I know not; but upon a repreſentation made ſoon thereafter, to King Charles the ſecond, that the Britiſh plantations in America were, by degrees, advancing to

ſuch a condition as neceſſarily required a greater yearly ſupply of ſervants and labourers than could well be ſpared from hence, without the danger of depopulating his Majeſty's native dominions, his Majeſty did (upon account of ſupplying theſe plantations with negroes) publickly invite all his ſubjects to the ſubſcription of a new joint ſtock, for recovering and carrying on the trade to Africa; and the then deſigned ſubſcription being compleated accordingly, his Majeſty did, in the year 1662, grant a new charter to the ſubſcribers of that joint ſtock, by the name of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England for carrying on a trade to Africa, with the ſame excluſions, prohibitions, penalties, forfeitures and immunities which were contained in the ſeveral charters formerly mentioned.

K. Charles 2d invites his ſubjects to raiſe a joint ſtock for carrying on the African trade; and in the year 1662 grants an excluſive charter to the ſubſcribers.

But ſcarcely had that new company put themſelves into a condition of trading, when a war breaking out with the States of Holland, in the year 1664, the Dutch (who ſeldom or never neglected the taking hold of any opportunity for engroſſing to themſelves as much as they could of either that or any other beneficial trade) did, in the very beginning of that war, ſend orders to their admiral De Ruyter, with a ſquadron of 13 men of war, which lay then at Gibraltar, to make ſail for the coaſt of Guinea, and to ſet upon the Engliſh there; which he ſo effectually performed, that in the year 1665, he not only deſtroyed moſt of their factories, took Cormanteen-caſtle, Tocorary-fort, and other places on that coaſt, but likewiſe

The Dutch war breaking out; Adm. de Ruyter deſtroys or takes the Engliſh forts in Africa, ſeizes their ſhips and goods, &c.

wiſe ſeized on ſeveral ſhips and goods belonging to the Engliſh company, inſomuch that their loſs thereby was computed to upwards of £. 200,000; by which means that company's ſtock was ſo much reduced, that they were quite diſcouraged, as well as diſabled, from making any farther conſiderable efforts for retrieving and carrying on that trade to any purpoſe, without ſome new help.

Whereupon his Majeſty, conſidering that the ſaid trade was in imminent danger of being wholly loſt to the nation, and conceiving that the eſtabliſhing a new company, with a new ſtock, upon ſurrender of the former company's charter, would be the moſt effectual Means for recovering and carrying on that trade, did, in the year 1671, publickly invite all his ſubjects reſiding in foreign plantations, as well as here at home, to ſubſcribe what ſums they pleaſed towards carrying on the aforeſaid trade; and thereupon many of the nobility, gentry and merchants, having, in the compaſs of nine months time thereafter, ſubſcribed for and compleated the then deſigned ſtock, his Majeſty granted a new charter, in the year 1672, to theſe new ſubſcribers, diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of the Royal African Company of England, with the ſame excluſions and privileges which the former company had, it being previouſly ſtipulated, that out of this laſt ſtock ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the former company, for the eſtimated value of the remains of ſuch caſtles, forts and ſettlements, as were then in their poſſeſſion on the coaſt of Africa, which was done accordingly.

K. Charles 2d, upon ſurrender of the former charter, grants a new charter, with encouraging privileges to the preſent Royal African company, 1672

The African trade very advantageous to the company, and the nation in general, before the interlopers intruded after the Revolution.

The trade to Africa being thus ſettled again, and carried on, by the uniform influence, direction and management of a ſociety of perſons, who had the countenance and protection of the government at that time, they introduced and encouraged the making of ſeveral ſorts of woollen and other goods, proper for the trade of Guinea, not formerly manufactured in England, and reduced the making thereof to a ſtaple and ſettled goodneſs; they exported yearly upwards of £. 70,000 worth of the ſaid woollen and other manufactures, and gave far better prices for the ſame than what uſually is now given for the like; they furniſhed the weſtern plantations with frequent ſupplies of conſiderable numbers of negroes, at very moderate rates, and in ſo encouraging a manner too, that they ſometimes truſted the planters to the value of £. 100,000 and upwards, till they could conveniently pay the ſame; they imported (beſide elephant's teeth, red-wood, and other goods, fit for being manufactured at home) ſuch quantities of gold-duſt from the coaſt of Africa, that they frequently coined 30, 40, or 50,000 guineas at a time, with the elephant upon them for a mark of diſtinction; and in effect they managed matters ſo, as that, for ſeveral years together, that trade did not only produce an annual dividend of certain profits to all the particular adventurers in the joint ſtock, beſide a multiplication of their capital, but likewiſe ſeveral other publick and national advantages to the whole kingdom, and the Britiſh plantations in general.

But

The interlopers break in upon the company's privileges, and are guilty of ſeveral undue practices.

But ſome time after the late Revolution, ſeveral private traders (then commonly called interlopers) aſſuming again a liberty of trading ſeparately to Africa, without any regard to the company's charter, few or none of them had then any other conſideration in view, than barely the ready diſpoſal of all ſuch cargoes as they carried along with them (no matter to whom, or which way) and the ſpeedy procuring of negroes, or any other commodities which they could get on that coaſt, whether by purchaſe or otherways, ſo as not to ſtay long there; for accompliſhing which deſign, they ſtuck at nothing, but were too frequently guilty of ſuch ſiniſter practices, as proved not only very injurious to the private intereſt of the company, but likewiſe diſgraceful and pernicious to the Britiſh intereſt in general, among the natives, inſomuch that the company's agents were frequently obliged to vindicate the company, by making the natives ſenſible that they were none of the company's ſhips or ſervants; and as the impunity of ſuch practices did encourage the authors to perſevere, for ſome time, in ſuch like courſes, ſo others likewiſe taking their views and meaſures from the ſeeming ſucceſs of the former, without any regard to the conſequences of trading in that manner, joined in an outcry againſt the privileges of the company, as a monopoly inconſiſtent with the liberty of the ſubject, and not eſtabliſhed by act of parliament; and that therefore they would exerciſe their natural right of trading to Africa, as well as the company.

Thus

The interlopers endeavour to leſſen the company's credit.

Thus they went on for ſome time; and to give the more colourable title to ſuch their proceedings, they never failed to magnify and improve any caſual loſs or misfortune which happened to the company during the late war, as if that had been the natural effect of trading by a joint ſtock; inſomuch, that whoſoever could contrive the moſt effectual methods for leſſening the company's credit and intereſt, either at home or abroad, whether by detraction or otherways, was among them accounted the braveſt adventurer.

The Dutch company's agents foment diviſions in the Britiſh intereſt in Guinea.

Nor were the agents of other nations, particularly thoſe of the Dutch Weſt-India company, ever wanting in cheriſhing, upon all occaſions, the authors and fomenters of any diviſions in the Britiſh intereſt on the coaſt of Guinea, but endeavoured, with all their art and ſkill, to make ſuch improvements thereof, as they thought might beſt ſerve their ends, with the natives upon that coaſt.

The Royal African company addreſs'd the parliament: but the parliament, 1697, is induced to lay the trade open for 13 years.

Whereupon, after long forbearance, the company at laſt addreſſed the parliament, by petition, for relief: but ſome others, at the ſame time, alledging very confidently, that if the trade to Africa were laid open to all ſuch perſons as had a mind to trade thither, the ſame would not only be more agreeable to the natural liberty of the ſubject, but alſo that thereby ſeveral new diſcoveries would be made, many places then unknown traded into, much greater quantities of the Engliſh manufactures exported of courſe, and that the plantations would be furniſhed with ne-

groes in greater numbers, and at cheaper rates, than could be expected from the company alone; by which alluring ſuggeſtions and plauſible pretences the parliament was, in the year 1697, induced to make an experiment, by giving permiſſion to all perſons whoſoever, as well as the company, to trade to Africa for the term and ſpace of 13 years, they paying to the company a duty of 10 per cent. towards defraying the charges of their forts and caſtles, for the defence and preſervation of that trade to the nation.

CHAP. II.

An account of the progreſs of our trade to Africa ſince the year 1697, *together with a clear view of the preſent ſtate thereof.*

The novelty of laying open the trade to Africa, by act of parliament, induced many to trade thither, who ſoon repented it.

THE trade to Africa being thus laid open, not only ſuch as were more immediately concerned in contriving and advancing that project, but likewiſe a conſiderable number of other perſons (who before that time had ſcarcely ever any occaſion to have examined, conſidered, or tolerably well underſtood the nature and circumſtances of that trade) becoming it ſeems intoxicated with ſuch deluding notions and golden dreams, as the former had, for obtaining their own private ends, induſtriouſly propagated, touching the vaſt gains to be had by a ſeparate trade to the Gold Coaſt, did, without any farther conſideration,

deration, plunge themſelves, over head and ears, into an African trade, and perſevered therein for ſome time, until, by degrees, moſt of them came off, at laſt, with the weeping-croſs, repenting them too late of their credulity and raſhneſs, and wiſhing, that inſtead of purſuing a trade which, upon trial, they found they did not truly underſtand, they had beſtowed their time, credit, pains and ſubſtance in the carrying on and improvement of the ſeveral trades, callings and employments, to which they were reſpectively bred.

Several particular abuſes committed by the private traders.

But as there ever has been, and in all probability ſtill will be, ſome ſort of people in the world, who make it their intereſt to fiſh in troubled waters; ſo, even as to the laying open this trade, there were too many who wanted no more towards compaſſing their own private deſigns, than the obtaining a legal and uncontrolable permiſſion for trading ſeparately on the coaſt of Guinea; under the colour of which permiſſion they have, to the unſpeakable detriment and diſcredit of the Britiſh intereſt in general, uſed ſuch unaccountable methods, and been guilty of ſuch intolerable practices, as I could not have believed, if I had not ſeen ſeveral concurring teſtimonies, and undeniable vouchers, for proving the truth thereof; ſome of them ſurprizing, ſeizing and carrying away with them, ſuch negroes, elephants teeth, and other goods, as happened to fall conveniently within their reach, without paying any thing for the ſame, and making ſuch of theſe negroes, as they underſtood to be of any diſtinguiſhing character, redeemable at the rate of three for one; others, by rewards and promiſes, enticing many of the company's truſtees and ſervants to relinquiſh and abandon their maſter's intereſt,

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proclaiming maliciouſly among the natives, and all others along the coaſt, that the company was entirely broke, and their managers here at home threatened to be put in Newgate, for begging leave (as they alledged) of the parliament, to ſell their forts and factories to the French, and deducting two-thirds of their ſervants wages, &c. Which ſcandalous allegations happened, nevertheleſs, to have the deſired pernicious effect, inſomuch that, though all the company's ſervants are bound by oath not to trade directly or indirectly, during their ſervice, except only for, and upon account of the company, yet ſeveral of them were, by ſuch means, induced forthwith to deſert their maſter's ſervice, others to ſell lumping pennyworths of ſome of the company's negroes, gold, elephants teeth, and other goods, to ſome of the ſeparate traders, as alſo to ſend home ſeveral parcels of gold, on their own private accounts, by the ſeparate traders ſhips; upon diſcovery of which, or ſuch like practices, they commonly entered into the ſervice of the ſeparate traders: and as the ſeparate traders ſhips were as ſo many ſanctuaries to ſuch of the company's ſervants as proved any way treacherous to their maſters intereſt, ſo the Dutch forts were, and ſtill are, common ſanctuaries to both the former.

The Dutch company's agents cajol the private traders, and inſtigate the natives againſt the Royal African company.

Thus the Dutch company's agents, by cajoling and careſſing the ſeparate traders, and drawing on a ſubtle kind of ſmuggling trade with them, for the time, as they were not wanting, on the one hand, in encouraging all ſuch practices as theſe, and fomenting daily diviſions in the Britiſh intereſt, ſo, on the other hand, they never failed, with all their uſual art and ſkill, to make a ſuitable im-

improvement thereof among the natives, who thereupon became ſo inſolent as not only to break many of their former agreements with the company, but alſo, on ſome occaſions, inſulted even ſome of the company's forts and factories, to the great detriment and interruption of their trade, until that, by renewed preſents and other proper means uſed, theſe differences between them and the company's agents came to be compromiſed and accommodated, from time to time, according as the natives happened to be more or leſs influenced by the ſuggeſtions and management of either the Dutch agents or ſeparate traders.

The Royal African company raiſe and advance 180000l. of additional ſtock.

The company, finding themſelves ſo hardly thus beſet on all ſides, thought fit to contribute and advance £. 180,000 of additional ſtock, beſide what money they borrowed upon their bonds, for maintaining, repairing and ſupplying their forts and factories, as well as for keeping up ſome face of a regular trade, and preſerving the ſame to the nation, until they could have a ſeaſonable opportunity for laying their caſe before the parliament.

The natives advance the prices of negroes, and beat down the prices of our Britiſh manufactures.

Yet ſtill the natives, who are known to be a very cunning, as well as deceitful people, never miſſed catching hold of the advantages which they ſaw naturally ariſing to themſelves, from our ſeparate intereſts, as well as different methods of management; yea, they acted their part therein ſo very artfully, that, without regard to either the company or ſeparate traders, they not only raiſed the price of negroes, gold, elephants teeth, and all other African productions, to a moſt intolerable rate, far exceeding what the company ever paid

paid for them before the trade was laid open, but have alſo, at the ſame time, depreciated and beat down the value of all woollen and other Britiſh manufactures to a meer drug upon that coaſt; inſomuch that, as the trade is now managed, it is next to impoſſible for either the company, or ſcarcely any of the ſeparate traders who deal upon the ſquare, or have any regard to a national intereſt, to be gainers by it; for the ſeparate traders contending always, not only with the company, but alſo one with the other among themſelves, for precedency in point of diſpatch, as having neither patience nor convenience for ſtaying any conſiderable time upon the coaſt, do commonly ſubmit to ſuch terms and conditions of barter as the natives think fit to impoſe upon them, rather than go away without inveſting their goods, or purchaſing a competent number of negroes, at any rate; by which pernicious example the company's agents were forced, by degrees, to lower their ſales alſo, unleſs they would reſolve to ſtand by and look on like ſo many idle ſpectators: and I am convinced it had been better for the company's particular intereſt that they had done ſo all this time, were it not merely for the preſervation of their forts and factories, and for keeping up the face of a regular trade, which may ſtill be a foundation, and yield ſome proſpect of future gain, if the trade were once put upon a right foot.

The merchant impoſes the negroes on the planters at exorbitant rates, and the planters advance the prices of ſugar, &c.

Nor do the evil conſequences of theſe ſeparate intereſts ſtop here; for the merchant, to ſave his own bacon, as much as he can, impoſes theſe negroes again on the planters in America, at ſuch exorbitant rates as the planters cannot poſſibly afford to give, without a proportional advance

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on the prices of ſugar, cotton, indigo, &c. From all which it may be eaſily obſerved, that (like a virulent diſtemper affecting the blood) a fundamental error in the conſtitution of ſo eſſential a branch of our foreign trade, as that to Africa, muſt of courſe diffuſe itſelf through the whole circle of our trade in general.

The Royal African company petition the Queen to recommend their caſe to the parliament, 1707.

The Royal African company, from too convincing a ſenſe of the many fatal conſequences thus attending ſuch a pernicious and irregular management, influenced by the ſeveral interfering intereſts of different contending parties, as well as from a due regard to their own preſſing circumſtances at the time, thought fit, in Nov. 1707, to addreſs the Queen, by petition, in a moſt humble and dutiful manner, "Praying that her Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend their caſe to the parliament." Which petition being referred to the previous conſideration of the commiſſioners for trade and plantations, it ſo happened (as it too often does in many other caſes, where ſuch as have the worſt cauſe are commonly the moſt vigilant and induſtrious) that ſome of the ſeparate traders, by an early and cloſe application, with the help of ſome political, or rather fallacious computations, as to their own imaginary performances, and ſeveral groundleſs ſuggeſtions againſt the company, had prepoſſeſſed the commiſſioners with ſuch an opinion of the ſuppoſed advantages ariſing from a ſeparate trade, compared with theſe of a joint ſtock, that ſeveral ſcruples and queſtions ariſing thereupon, the commiſſioners were, it ſeems, afraid that they could not obtain ſuch proper vouchers

Referred to the commiſſioners for trade, who prepared a report thereupon.

vouchers and adminicles from the coaſt of Africa, or the plantations, in time, as might enable them to put theſe matters in ſo clear a light as they could have wiſhed, before the end of the laſt parliament; and therefore, rather than be thought any way negligent of their duty, did, in February laſt, prepare a report to be laid before her majeſty, wherein they repeat the ſeveral allegations and political computations aforeſaid, given in to them, in name of the ſeparate traders, touching the contents of the company's ſaid petition.

The commiſſioners report laid aſide, but copies thereof ſpread abroad, and ſiniſter uſes made thereof.

And though the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, before the ſaid report could have been ripely conſidered, gave occaſion, it ſeems, to its having been laid aſide, yet ſeveral copies thereof having clandeſtinely crept abroad, and fallen into the hands of ſome perſons who make ſiniſter improvements thereon, my preſent purpoſe obliges me to take ſome notice of the political computations and imaginary ſuppoſitions therein mentioned; for ſome of the ſeparate traders (probably the very ſame who firſt had the confidence to obtrude theſe fallacious computations upon the commiſſioners) are now, by a new way of reaſoning, endeavouring to impoſe the ſame vain imaginations, as real truths, upon the whole kingdom, by their prints and otherways; they repeat the ſame ſuggeſtions and computations upon all occaſions, and, with an aſſurance as ſingular as their manner of reckoning, quote ſome certain paragraphs out of their own original allegations, by way of extracts out of the ſaid report, and then adduce them as vouchers, for ſupporting the very ſame allegations again in taverns, coffee-houſes, and elſe-

where: which is ſuch a circle of ſophiſtry, for bantering men out of their ſenſes, as, I own, ſurpaſſeth all the rules of logick that ever I heard of.

CHAP. III.

A detection of the fallacious topicks inſiſted on by the ſeparate traders, with a continuation of the ſtate of the African trade.

The private traders ſuggeſtions are particularly confuted by certain remarks on the ſaid report, lately given in to the commiſſioners for trade.

I Think it needleſs here, to give the reader or myſelf the trouble of tracing theſe ſeparate traders (or rather ſuch as ſeem now to perſonate them) through the wilderneſs of all their wild ſuggeſtions and imaginations, eſpecially ſince I am informed, that their inconſiſtencies are already more than ſufficiently expoſed, in a certain paper lately given in, by the Royal African company, to the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations; yet, for a ſample and teſt of the ſeparate traders candor and ingenuity, to the end that (according to the common ſaying) "the lion may be known by his paw," I ſhall detect the fallacies of two or three of theſe general topicks, upon which they ſeem to lay their greateſt ſtreſs, and which, in effect, may be ſaid to include all the reſt.

With deſign, no doubt, to make themſelves and their method of trading very popular and acceptable to the nation, they alledge in their prints, that they have exported £. 125,000 worth of woollen and other manufactures yearly, ſince the trade to Africa has been laid open; yea, by the very accounts which they had the aſſurance to give in to the aforeſaid commiſſioners, they make their annual exports to be about £. 98,240; and the way they pretend to prove both the one and the other, is thus: They ſay that they fitted out a certain number of ſhips yearly from the port of London, and a ſuppoſed number of ſhips yearly from the plantations, and the ports of Briſtol, Liverpool, and other outports of the kingdom; then they ſuppoſe that every one of theſe ſhips, great and ſmall, one with another, without any diſtinction, carried out as valuable a cargo as the biggeſt of thoſe ſhips employed by the company; to this they add the yearly amount of the ten per cent. duty paid by them, upon their real export, when at the higheſt: and thus, by ſetting one mountain a-top of another, they have, in their own conceit, reared up their imaginary tower of Babylon to a moſt prodigious height at laſt.

The alledged export of the ſeparate traders proved to be fabulous.

I muſt confeſs, if there could have been no more certain rule fallen upon, for computing the value of their yearly exports, than this fallacious method of theirs, then the introducing of what they call political arithmetick, might, in ſome meaſure, have been allowable; but when, to their own certain knowledge, there are ſtrict and regular accounts of the value of all ſuch exports, as are

An appeal to the Cuſtom-houſe books.

made by theſe ſeparate traders, kept at all the ports of the kingdom, and confirmed by the entries and oaths of the very exporters themſelves, I think it no breach of charity to affirm, that their not making the Cuſtom-houſe books the ſtandard and rule of their accounting, in computing the value of theſe exports, does tacitly imply ſomewhat more than a bare ſuſpicion, that the framers of theſe political accounts had a ſhrewd deſign of impoſing upon the nation to a moſt inſufferable degree.

A certain dilemma, to which the ſeparate traders are deſired to give a categorical anſwer, if they can.

But to come cloſer to the point; it appears evidently, by their own oaths and entries in the Cuſtom-houſe books of London, Briſtol and other out-ports of the kingdom, that their annual exports, theſe ſix or ſeven years paſt, on an average, did not exceed £. 33,883 13*s.* 8*d.* at moſt. Now, the oaths of theſe ſeparate traders being thus kept upon record, either they ſwore juſtly, or they did not; if juſtly (which in charity I am inclined to believe they did) then this Babyloniſh tower of their political computations falls to the ground of courſe; but if otherwiſe, then it muſt be allowed, that they have not only cheated the company of their 10 per cent. duty for the overplus of their exports, but have likewiſe, to ſhun the payment of that duty, perjured themſelves into the bargain. Theſe gentlemen are at their liberty to chooſe which branch of the alternative they think fit; and if any of their moſt celebrated champions in ſophiſtry can extricate them handſomely out of this unlucky dilemma, it is more than I look for.

Then,

Then, after ſuppoſing an indefinite number of chimerical ſuppoſitions, which no conſidering or intelligent perſon can ever either ſuppoſe or grant, they infer, I muſt own, a moſt pertinent and natural concluſion, fully as ſuppoſititious as the premiſſes, viz. That ſince the trade to Africa has been laid open, they carried at leaſt 25,000 negroes yearly to the plantations, and ſold them there from 14 to 20 and 23 *l.* per head, at moſt; and, to give the better colour to this fictitious account, they make a very formal diſtribution of theſe ſuppoſed negroes among the plantations, thus:

The alledged numbers of negroes, carried by the ſeparate traders to the plantations, proved to be groſsly fictitious.

To	Barbadoes — — — —	4000
	the Leeward-Iſlands — —	4000
	Virginia and Maryland —	4000
	Carolina and New-York —	1000
	Jamaica — — — —	12000
		25000

For the confutation of this fallacious account, I ſhall, in the firſt place, ſhew the inconſiſtency thereof, compared with the amount of their exports, and then adduce undeniable teſtimonies touching the real numbers of negroes which they furniſhed to the plantations, and at what prices.

The ſeparate traders diſingenuity proved from their own undeniable exports.

By what has been already ſaid, it is evident that the amount of the ſeparate traders exports, theſe ſix or ſeven years paſt, in an average, does not exceed £. 33,883 13*s.* 8*d.* per ann. at moſt.

It is acknowledged by all parties, that the value of theſe exports, conſiſting chiefly in woollen

manufactures, is fallen about cent. per cent. of the price, at which the company ſold them formerly on the coaſt of Guinea.

It is acknowledged likewiſe, that the prices of negroes on the coaſt of Guinea is now generally advanced to 10, 12 and 13 *l.* per head; yet to ſee how far it can ſerve theſe gentlemen's purpoſe, I'll allow that they bought all their negroes at £. 8 per head.

Now I'll ſuppoſe with them (though the contrary be moſt certain) that they have not beſtowed any part of their exports in the purchaſing of either gold, elephants teeth, red-wood, proviſions for negroes, or the like, but that they have inveſted all the aforeſaid ſum of £. 33,883 13*s.* 8*d.* in negroes only, at £. 8 per head; yet, even at that rate, and in that manner, the aforeſaid ſum could not have purchaſed any more than 4235 negroes at moſt.

Then I'll ſuppoſe, with them, that no accident, or any misfortune whatſoever, occaſioned by ſickneſs, ſtorms, or the war, has leſſened that number, from the time of purchaſing them on the coaſt of Guinea, till they were delivered all ſafe in the plantations; and yet ſtill, when I have allowed theſe gentlemen more than, in reaſon, I can allow them, I cannot find out any ſhadow of pretence for ſuppoſing a medium, by which to allow them the remaining 20,765 of their imaginary number of 25,000 negroes per ann. unleſs we ſuppoſe them to have dropt from the clouds.

But leaving this method of calculating numbers, by meer ſuppoſitions, to ſuch as are more in love with it than I am, I come now to the plain, familiar, old-faſhioned way of finding out the truth or untruth of people's aſſertions, by certain inſtances of poſitive points of fact.

I have lately ſeen a certificate, under the ſeal of the Naval-office of Barbadoes, containing a liſt of all the veſſels arrived there from the coaſt of Africa, with an account of all the negroes imported in them, from the 2d of Jan. 1701-2, to the 10th of Aug. 1708. It mentions not only the ſhips and maſters names, with the days of every month on which they arrived, but likewiſe the reſpective numbers of negroes which each ſhip carried apart. By which certificate it appears, that the whole number imported into that iſland, by the private traders, in almoſt ſeven years time, is only 6063, which, in an average, is little more than 900 per ann. So that their fictitious importation of 4000 negroes per ann. to that iſland, may be added to the reſt of their fables.

The ſeparate traders diſingenuity proved by authentick certificates from the plantations.

Then as to their candor, in alledging that they ſold theſe negroes to the planters from 14 to 20 and 23 *l.* per head, I have very lately ſeen a petition to the honourable Houſe of Commons, ſigned by the chief planters and inhabitants of Barbadoes, complaining of their not being ſupplied with a ſufficient number of negroes; that both the company and private traders together have not, for five years paſt, imported thither above 2000 negroes per ann. at moſt, and that they were ſold at extravagant prices, from 25 to 40 *l.* per head: and I have ſeen another petition to the honourable Houſe of Commons, ſigned by 71 of the principal planters and inhabitants of Montſerrat, complaining likewiſe of their not being ſupplied with a ſufficient number of negroes, and that the company and private traders

The prices of negroes in the plantations proved, by certificates from thence, to be more than double what the private traders alledge.

together have not, for ſeveral years paſt, imported above the number of 100 negroes per ann. to that iſland, and that theſe were ſold at extravagant high prices, from 40 to 60 *l.* per head; and I ſaw juſt ſuch another petition from the planters of Nevis. So, whether ſuch teſtimonies as theſe, or the fabulous accounts publiſhed in name of the ſeparate traders, ought to obtain moſt credit with any indifferent perſon, I leave it to the reader to judge.

The number of negroes imported to Jamaica incomparably ſhort of the private traders imaginary allotment.

I am informed that ſeveral other petitions and accounts, of the like nature, are coming from the other Britiſh plantations and colonies in America; but, in the mean time, ſince the private traders thought fit, in their aforeſaid imaginary diſtribution, to make an allotment of no leſs number than 12,000 negroes per ann. for Jamaica, I muſt put them in mind how that, by a particular account, formerly taken, of the ſeveral numbers imported by them in each ſhip, in any one of theſe years, when they made their greateſt effort, the whole number imported by them to Jamaica amounted only to 2553 negroes: ſo that I muſt leave it to themſelves to make up the remaining 9447 negroes of their annual allotment for that iſland the beſt way they can.

Inſtead of their alledged 4000, the ſeparate traders imported only 130 negroes to Barbadoes, in a whole year's time.

It is true, they very imprudently made a mighty effort for a year or two at firſt, which indeed was occaſioned by their ignorance and vain expectations of gaining vaſtly by a trade which they did not underſtand; but finding moſt of their ſhips returning with ſcarcely one half of their complement of ſlaves, others periſhing in their voyages, by reaſon of delays upon the coaſt, beſide

beſide many other loſſes following thereupon, the far greateſt part of theſe ſeparate traders to Africa have already given that trade quite over, as may eaſily be judged by this one inſtance, That from Aug. 1707, to Aug. 1708, they have, inſtead of their boaſted allotment of 4000, imported only 130 negroes to Barbadoes, the moſt conſiderable of all the Caribbee Iſlands.

Their allegation of ſending ſhips from other ports than that of London is a meer fable.

And though, in their aforeſaid political computations, they reckoned upon a ſuppoſed number of ſhips to be yearly ſent to Africa, from Liverpool in particular, upon the preſumption of its being known to be, of late, a port of conſiderable trade otherways; yet, after the inhabitants of that place had made an experiment, as ſeveral others did, there has not been ſo much as one ſhip ſent from that town to Africa theſe ſix years paſt, nor indeed from any other port in Britain, except that of London, and ſome few from Briſtol.

A ſummary of the private traders calumnious charge againſt the company.

Yet ſuch is the perverſeneſs of ſome people's temper, that when they find all their loud acclamations, magnifying their own performances, not likely to anſwer their purpoſe, then they have recourſe to ſpiteful invectives againſt the Royal African company, alledging that forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa are altogether unneceſſary for preſerving and carrying on that trade, and that, if forts ſhould be thought any way neceſſary for that purpoſe, yet thoſe belonging to the company are generally uſeleſs, as not being in a condition to make any defence; for that, beſide the alledged inſufficiency of the fortifications themſelves, they are always unprovided of ſtores, ammunition, and a ſufficient number

number of guns and men to defend them: and as an inſtance thereof, they confidently aſſert that James-Fort in the river of Gambia, and Sierra-Leon, were taken by the French in open boats; adding farther, that all the company's forts and caſtles, jointly eſtimated, are not worth above £. 4100, and concluding, by a ſort of fantaſtical account, of their own deviſing, that the company's ſtock muſt needs be worſe than nothing.

To obviate all which unaccountable ſuggeſtions, I ſhall, in the firſt place, adduce ſeveral inſtances of poſitive points of fact to prove the inconſiſtency, as well as groſs folly, of the aforeſaid allegations, and then demonſtrate, from the uncommon nature and many precarious circumſtances of the trade, the abſolute neceſſity of maintaining forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, for preſerving and advancing the Britiſh intereſt there.

The private traders charge confuted from their own words.

The ſincerity of theſe gentlemen's repreſentations of things may be clearly ſeen from their own words, as they are repeated in the lords commiſſioners report, formerly mentioned: they ſay, in one part of the report, "That forts and caſtles are neither an advantage or ſecurity to the trade, but an unneceſſary burthen; for that, in time of peace, no advantage can be aſſigned to balance the expence, and in war they are not defenſible againſt a foreign enemy;" and yet, by a ſubſequent part of the ſame report, it appears that the private traders, to aggravate their ſuggeſtions againſt the company, have exhibited a grievous complaint, "That the company has not erected any fort on the Angola coaſt, which (they ſay) would have been of great benefit to the traders thither; for that, in the year 1701-2, Capt. Eterſon and Capt. Cook

Cook were both taken, and the informer himſelf (whoſe name is not mentioned) with others, forced on ſhore, for want of a fort to defend them from the enemy." This is ſuch a ſelf-evident contradiction, that it puts me in mind of the old proverb, "Liars ought to have good memories." Nor indeed can I imagine how they can pretend to reconcile this latter complaint with their former aſſertion, unleſs they make a very ſubtle diſtinction between the uſefulneſs of forts on the coaſt of Angola, and that of forts on the coaſt of Guinea, which truly would be as ridiculous as to ſay, in plain terms, that forts are neceſſary where the Dutch have none, and that where they have forts we need have none.

The private traders confuted from points of fact.

But to evacuate that pretence likewiſe, in caſe they ſhould happen to build upon it, I ſhall condeſcend on ſome of many inſtances which may be given, for proving the uſefulneſs of the latter, even to the private traders themſelves, as particularly at Whidah. The company's chief, by his intereſt and power with the King there, and by threatening to intercept the trade of that country, by firing from the company's fort, &c. obtained reſtitution of a ſhip, with 300 negroes, taken in that road by the French; which ſhip did belong to Mr. Heyſham, now a member of parliament: and the Mary of Barbadoes, Capt. Codnor, maſter, and ſeveral other ſhips belonging to the ſeparate traders, and their cargoes, have, under the protection of Cape-Coaſt Caſtle, and by its great firing upon the enemy, been frequently preſerved, yea, and their ſlaves and goods taken into the caſtle, for farther ſafety, when attempted to have been taken, by the French men of war and privateers, out of Cape-Coaſt Road.

As

The private traders allegation concerning James-Fort, &c. diſproved by the indiſputable teſtimony of a common enemy.

As to the ſeparate traders allegation, that James-Fort and Sierra-Leon have been taken from the company, by the French, in open boats, I ſhall wave the company's own teſtimony in that matter, leſt it may be thought too partial in their own favour, and betake myſelf wholly to the publick account thereof, which may be ſeen at large in the Sieur Froger's printed relation of Monſieur de Gennes's voyage to the coaſt of Africa, &c. by which it will appear, that Monſieur de Gennes had a ſquadron of ſix ſhips of force along with him in that expedition; and by the articles of capitulation, as they are particularly recited in the 21ſt, 22d, 23d and 24th pages of the ſaid book, it is ſpecially declared that, at the time of ſigning the ſaid articles, "the ſeveral goods after-mentioned did belong to the Royal African company, viz. 500 quintals of morphil (or elephants teeth) 300 quintals of wax, 130 male negroes, 40 females in the iſland, 50 at Gillofriee, and above 80,000 crowns of merchandizes, at the uſual rates of the country, as alſo 72 large cannons mounted, 30 not mounted, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ammunition;" and in the 25th page the author (who was in perſon along with Monſieur de Gennes in that expedition, and conſequently not a meer repeater of ſtories at the ſecond or third hand) gives a full and particular deſcription of the ſaid fort, and, after taking notice of its being furniſhed with a prodigious quantity of arms, and that the magazines of powder were well ſtored, he declares expreſsly, that "if the governor had done his duty, the ſaid fort had been impregnable." From all which the reader may judge of

of the private trader's veracity in other particulars.

The private traders malicious eſtimation of the company's forts and caſtles clearly diſproved, and a juſt view given thereof.

Then, as to the value of all the company's forts, it is manifeſtly known, that in the year 1672, the Royal African company paid 34,000 *l.* to their predeceſſors, for the forts which they had then in their poſſeſſion, and theſe were only three, viz. James-Fort and Sierra-Leon on the North Coaſt, and Cape-Coaſt Caſtle on the Gold Coaſt; nor were they then but in a very ordinary condition for defence, as being much out of repair: but ſince that time, the company has not only rebuilt and enlarged theſe three, but likewiſe gave 4000 *l.* for a fort which they bought from the Danes, and built the ſeveral other forts of Dickes-Cove, Succundee, Commenda, Queen-Ann's-Point, Annamabo, Winebah, Accra and Whidah, all new from the ground, beſides their ſettling ſeveral other factories on that coaſt; the charge of all which, together with the expence of furniſhing them with great guns, ſmall arms, ammunition, proviſion and ſtores of all ſorts, and with conſtant ſupplies and repairs, as alſo the intereſt of that money ſo laid out, could not but amount to ſeveral hundred thouſands of pounds, though the company is ſo modeſt as not to charge any intereſt for the ſame, but have eſtimated the whole at 150,000 *l.* which eſtimation will ſtill appear to be more moderate, if it be conſidered that, for one ſingle fort belonging to the Brandenburgh company, on the ſame coaſt, a perſon ſpecially authorized by them to ſell it, demanded 50,000 *l.* of the Royal African company about twelve months ago. Yet the private traders, by a method of probation peculiar to themſelves, as well

as

as that of their computations, will needs impoſe a belief upon the nation, that all the Royal African company's forts and ſettlements above-mentioned are worth no more than 4100*l.* or thereabouts; and they prove it thus: They informed the commiſſioners for trade and plantations, that (at the time of paſſing the act for laying the trade open in the year 1698) all the forts and caſtles then in the company's poſſeſſion were valued by ſome private traders (meaning ſuch as were formerly called interlopers) who pretended to be well acquainted with the company's affairs, at no more than 41,000*l.* or thereabouts, which the commiſſioners repeated again in their aforeſaid report; and the private traders have lately printed the very ſame words, by way of extract out of the ſaid report, as a notable proof of the ſame aſſertion without doors; yea, and to mend the matter, they have either wilfully filched out, or negligently dropt, one of the cyphers of the ſaid ſum in the copying, by which means the 41,000*l.* is abridged to 4100*l.* So that, if ſuch computations and proofs as theſe be ſuſtained as real, it will be no difficult matter to make not only this company's ſtock, but likewiſe the ſtocks of all the companies in the kingdom, appear ridiculous, and worſe than nothing, in the eyes of ſome ſort of people.

A farther inſtance of the vexatious and reſtleſs ſpirit, by which the private traders do create matter of diſturbance to themſelves and others, to no other purpoſe at all.

Nor could the private traders reſt ſatisfied here, until they had prompted the commiſſioners for trade to demand, from the Royal African company, "an account of the value of their joint ſtock in 1698, what ſums have been ſince called in, what dividends were made by them during the aforeſaid time, the value of their preſent ſtock, the debts owing by the company,

company, how often they had balanced their books, and what theſe balances had amounted to, &c." In compliance with the commiſſioners orders, the company gave them particular accounts of all the aforeſaid heads, and ſeveral others of the ſame nature, but for what purpoſe is, I own, paſt my underſtanding. I cannot ſuffer myſelf to ſuppoſe that it could be towards rectifying any part of the conſtitution, becauſe in that caſe they would, without doubt, have ordered the ſeparate traders to have given in accounts likewiſe of the ſame nature, ſhewing the names and qualities of ſuch as traded ſeparately the firſt year after the parliament had granted them a permiſſion to trade to Africa; who and how many of theſe were concerned in the ſame ſhips and ſtocks; what their ſeveral proportions were; how much of the money adventured by them was truly their own, and how much borrowed; what debts each of them owed; how much thereof was upon bond, and how much upon judgment; how many of them have been ruined by that trade, and put in the Gazette as bankrupts; how often all of them had adjuſted their ſeveral and reſpective accounts; what profit the one had, and what loſs the other; how the balance of profit and loſs ſtood at the year's end, with reſpect to all the ſeparate traders collectively conſidered; how many of thoſe who traded the firſt year continued to trade the ſecond, and ſo on progreſſively, from year to year, till this time. Beyond all peradventure, theſe gentlemen would have thought ſuch an inquiſition a very hard and diſagreeable morſel for their own digeſtion, and yet, in effect, it would have been no more than what the company was obliged to ſwallow.

But

The bad effects of ſuch a vexatious and needleſs inquiſition and divided intereſt.

But truly, conſidering how very much all the merchants and other traders in Britain (whether in joint ſtock or ſeparately, whether by wholeſale or retail) do deal upon credit, it is moſt evident, that ſuch expiſcations as theſe may be very provoking, and of injurious conſequence, but can never be of any real uſe towards ſettling and fixing the conſtitution of any trade, and much leſs of that to Africa, which is always attended with ſeveral uncommon circumſtances; nor can it be of any importance towards ſettling the aforeſaid trade on a right foot, to know whether the company or ſeparate traders have traded for moſt ſtock, ſince it is unqueſtionably certain that neither of them have traded profitably; nor is it indeed morally poſſible, that ever they can trade to advantage upon the foot of a divided intereſt, which (as I have heard ſeveral gentlemen of the company declare) is the true reaſon why they have not traded all this time for more than they have done, nor raiſed a farther additional ſtock for that end. And although the company were not exiſtent, yet the ſame divided intereſt would unavoidably have ſtill remained among the ſeparate traders themſelves, and would conſequently have produced the like or worſe effects.

The ſiniſter uſe which the private traders have made of the commiſſioners credulity.

It would be almoſt an endleſs labour, to enumerate and expatiate upon all the abſurdities and inconſiſtencies which could naturally be inferred from the ſeveral topicks made uſe of by the ſeparate traders, and therefore I ſhall, at this time, conclude what I have already ſaid, on that head, with this general obſervation on the contents of the aforeſaid report:

report: That the ſeparate traders have not adduced any vouchers for ſupporting the ſeveral allegations, ſuggeſtions and ſuppoſitious computations which they had the confidence to give in to the commiſſioners for trade; and though the commiſſioners did not avouch theſe as truths, yet the tranſcribing them, by way of report, and intermixing them with ſuch accounts as were demanded of the Royal African company, has happened to give them ſome more ſeeming authority than can reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been ever intended by the commiſſioners; for, by the inſtances already given, it is manifeſt that the ſeparate traders have taken occaſion from thence to print certain paragraphs of their own bare allegations, by way of extracts out of the ſaid report, as vouchers to gain credit to the very ſame allegations again without doors. Which may ſerve as a caveat to ſuch as now are, or hereafter ſhall be, at the helm of publick affairs, to be better ſatisfied, touching the nature and circumſtances of things, and of the certainty of alledged points of fact, before they ſeem to give too much ear to ſuggeſtions, leſt that, by the interpoſition of any ſhadow of their own authority, they may ſeem to give a currency to the falſe and counterfeit coin of others, under the colour of their own ſtamp.

CHAP. IV.

Some conſiderations on the nature and uncommon circumſtances of the African trade.

The temper of the natives deſcribed.

BEtween Axim and Accra (not altogether 60 leagues along the Gold Coaſt, nor above 30 leagues up the country, which is the fartheſt that any European, now alive, ever pretended to have travelled towards the heart of that part of the continent) there are about 20 ſeveral petty principalities and ſtates, governed by as many different Sovereigns, wholly independent of one another. The natives are generally ſo very poor and avaricious, and naturally ſo very mercenary and treacherous, even to one another, as well as to the Europeans, that the moſt ſolemn engagements can never ſecure their fidelity, longer than it makes for what they think to be their intereſt at the time, unleſs a coercive power oblige them to it; they are continually invading each other's property, and ſeizing one another's goods, which occaſions perpetual wars among ſome or other of them; and the victors do commonly ſell their vanquiſhed neighbours, as well as their own ſlaves, to ſuch European merchants as they happen to be moſt in friendſhip with at that time.

The practice of ſuch Europeans as have ſettled on the coaſt of Africa.

All the European nations who trade to that coaſt, have, for eſtabliſhing, preſerving and improving their intereſt and power among theſe petty Sovereigns, found it neceſſary, at firſt, not only to bribe and engage their friendſhip with certain agreeable preſents, but likewiſe (after

(after having, by ſuch means, obtained the native proprietor's conſent) to erect fortifications and ſettlements at ſuch ports as they found moſt convenient for carrying on their deſigned trade; and as their power and intereſt increaſed, ſo they always, from time to time, augmented the number of ſuch their fortifications and ſettlements.

The nature of alliances on the coaſt of Africa.

The Sovereigns of theſe ſeveral countries have frequent alliances and confederations of peace and war with ſome one or other of their neighbours, againſt ſome other confederates on the ſame coaſt, and each of them do commonly confine the trade of their own and their confederates reſpective countries, at leaſt the benefit of preemption, to the forts, factories and ſettlements of ſuch European nations as are moſt dexterous in acquiring and preſerving their friendſhip by renewed preſents and alliances, as occaſion requires, and by ſhewing a more than ordinary vigilance and care in ſupporting them againſt the infractions and depredations of others.

The practice of the Dutch company on the coaſt of Africa.

The Dutch (who of all other European nations, are diſtinguiſhed for being the moſt politick and deſigning people in trade) have left no means uneſſayed for engroſſing as much as poſſibly they can of this trade to themſelves; they have 11 ſeveral forts and ſettlements along the Gold Coaſt, and, upon all occaſions, given very conſiderable bribes to the natives, as they themſelves have acknowledged even in print*; nor have any of their trading companies ever been known to be very ſcrupulous or ceremonious in obſerving point of right with the people of any nation, whenever

* Vide Boſman's Letters, printed at Utrecht.

they found themſelves veſted with a ſufficient power to execute their deſigns, and make their pretenſions good. For proof thereof, many inſtances might be given, but the following noted one may ſerve at preſent:

The Portugueze were ſettled on the Gold Coaſt many years before the Dutch, yet the Portugueze not trading by a joint ſtock, as the Dutch always did, and conſequently not being in a condition to maintain their precarious poſſeſſion againſt an united force, were, by degrees, wholly ſupplanted and driven, by the Dutch, from all their ſettlements there; yea now, the Dutch do not only ſeize all the Portugueze ſhips which they find trading on that coaſt, and oblige them to pay an arbitrary duty of at leaſt 25 *l.* per cent. of their whole cargo, for a permiſſion to trade there, but make likewiſe a publick jeſt of them into the bargain: witneſs Mr. Boſman's ſcoffing character of them, in a book lately printed at Utrecht, viz. "That formerly the Portugueze ſerved only for ſetting-dogs to ſpring the game, which, as ſoon as they had done, was commonly ſeized by others." And as the Dutch Weſt-India company has ſerved them thus on the coaſt of Africa, ſo it is well known that the Dutch Eaſt-India company has ſerved them long ago, after the ſame manner, in the Eaſt-Indies.

The Portugueze do trade now by a joint ſtock, and have forts on the coaſt of Africa.

But experience (the ordinary ſchool-miſtreſs of fools) having, it ſeems, at laſt made the Portugueze wiſe enough, though ſomewhat too late) to ſee the neceſſity of trading to Africa by a joint ſtock, if at all, they have ſome years ago (as I am informed) followed that method, and have, at this time, two forts on the north coaſt of Africa, and one upon the

the coaſt of Angola, towards the Cape of Good-Hope.

The Danes, Brandenburghers, and ſome years ago the French, have all of them eſtabliſhed companies for trading to Africa, with joint ſtocks and excluſive privileges; however, the Dutch company has ſo far got the ſtart of them in fortifications, and in the experience of the propereſt methods of practiſing upon the natives, according to the ſeveral circumſtances of ſuch different emergencies as do and muſt daily happen, that hitherto they have ſcarcely conſidered all theſe European companies, jointly, as competitors with themſelves alone, in the trade of the Gold Coaſt; and therefore (to the end probably that they might not ſeem to have too much work upon their hands at once) they have, for ſeveral years paſt, contented themſelves only with obſerving the progreſs of theſe ſeveral companies, and, by certain ſecret ſprings, embarraſſing their meaſures with the natives, as well as with one another. All which may be eaſily gathered from their own writings, beſide ſuch other accounts thereof as are frequently had from that coaſt.

The Danes, Brandenburghers and French have forts on the coaſt of Africa, and trade thither by joint ſtocks excluſively.

But the Dutch company, conſidering the more exalted genius and eſtabliſhed reputation of the Engliſh nation, for making improvements in trade and navigation, have, all along, looked upon the ſeveral efforts made by the Royal African company, and their predeceſſors, for eſtabliſhing and preſerving the Britiſh intereſt on the coaſt of Africa, with a much more jealous eye,

The Dutch company is more jealous of the Engliſh Royal African company, than of all other competitors for the trade of Africa.

eye, and more intenſe application for rendering their deſigns and endeavours abortive, than can well be imagined by any one, at this diſtance, who has not been at more than ordinary pains to be informed concerning the ſeveral intrigues and tranſactions of the Dutch company's agents, in thoſe parts, for a ſeries of many years paſt.

The Royal African company takes precaution, from former uſages of the Dutch companies.

The Royal African company, on the other hand, taking a juſt and neceſſary precaution, from the hard treatment which their predeceſſors had formerly met with on the coaſt of Guinea, and which others of their countrymen had likewiſe met with from the Dutch companies both in * Aſia and America, as occaſion offered, have, for the prevention of any ſuch uſage thereafter, as much as in them lay, and for ſecuring and enlarging the Britiſh intereſt in Africa, purchaſed, built, repaired and maintained a greater number of forts and ſettlements on that coaſt than could have well been expected, while they were under the preſſure of all theſe complicated difficulties and heavy circumſtances with which they have ſtruggled theſe twenty years paſt: they bought, built, or rebuilt, three forts on the North Coaſt, and ten forts, beſides three factories, which they have on the South or Gold Coaſt.

Theſe

* Vide De Britaine's Dutch Uſurpation, 1672. Stub's Juſtification of the War againſt the Hollanders, 1672. And Sir Joſiah Child's confutation of a treatiſe, intituled, A Juſtification of the Directors of the Netherlands Eaſt India company, 1688.

The intereſt of other foreign companies incompatible with that of the Royal African company, & vice verſa.

Theſe forts and ſettlements are generally ſo contiguous to, and intermixed with the ſeveral forts of other European companies, and more eſpecially the Dutch, that (as mattors are carried on there) the intereſt, ſecurity and ſucceſs of one company, ſeems, in a great meaſure, incompatible with that of the other.

Inſtances of ſeveral ways by which the Dutch company's agents do ſtudy to leſſen the Britiſh intereſt on the coaſt of Guinea.

It has been an old and conſtant practice of the Dutch Weſt-India company, by preſents and otherways, to create and foment quarrels between ſome of the neighbouring petty kings and ſtates, and to aſſiſt the one ſide with arms, ammunition and other neceſſaries, upon promiſe and condition that (after prevailing againſt their enemies) they would turn all other Europeans out of their country, or at leaſt to bring and confine as much as poſſibly they could of their trade to the Dutch forts and ſettlements. This neceſſarily obliged the Royal African company's agents, in ſelf-defence, to follow much of the ſame or the like methods; which indeed produced not only many ſkirmiſhes and fightings between the natives, allies of the ſaid reſpective companies, inſomuch that the agents and ſervants of theſe companies themſelves came, at laſt, to be often perſonally engaged therein, but has likewiſe occaſioned the forts, factories and ſettlements of theſe companies to have been ſometimes inſulted to a moſt injurious degree; yea, the Dutch company's agents, in order to gain their ends, have tried all the ways they could think of, to render the people of this nation contemptible in the eyes of the natives: they have repreſented us in very

ridiculous hieroglyphicks, or mock-pictures: they have ſhewn to the natives, by the map, what a little ſpot of ground Britain is, in compariſon of the reſt of the world, calling what part thereof they thought fit, by the name of Holland and its dominions. And after King William's acceſſion to the throne of Great-Britain, the Dutch company's agents, to magnify their own country and power, told the natives, "That though King William was King over Britain, yet he was only one of their lords in Holland, &c."

The Dutch company ſeduce the Royal African company's ſervants

The Dutch company's agents have alſo a faculty of ſeducing the Royal African company's ſervants, by all the inticements imaginable; nor do they ever fail to encourage, entertain and defend ſuch of them as deſert their maſters ſervice: a practice ſo diſagreeable to the naturally much more generous temper of the Engliſh, that they have always reprobated the ſame, by remonſtrating againſt it the ſeveral g nerals of the Dutch company, as occaſion required.

Several treaties between the agents of theſe two companies, but a perpetual private war carried on mutually, the one againſt the other.

Several treaties were ſet on foot, between the generals and agents of theſe two companies, for conciliating and compromiſing all ſuch differences as happened between them, from time to time, and theſe treaties were obſerved, till the Dutch company's agents found out new occaſions to break them; yet they never wanted new pretences and evaſions in ſtore, for ſhifting the blame directly off themſelves: ſo that, upon the whole matter, it may very juſtly be ſaid (without any paradox) that though the Dutch have been our confederates in Europe, during the laſt and preſent war, as finding their intereſt by it,

and

and becauſe indeed their own ſafety depends upon and is involved with ours, yet it is moſt certain that, without regard to either peace or war at home, the Dutch Weſt-India company and the Royal African company of England have conſtantly maintained a ſort of private war, the one againſt the other, for the empire of trade on the coaſt of Guinea, theſe 30 years paſt.

The ſeparate traders deſtroy the Royal African company's maxims of policy on the coaſt of Africa.

And when, with much care, trouble and expences, the Royal African company had brought their affairs to be in a condition of over-topping their foreign competitors in that trade, a more fatal enemy than the former ſprung up here at home, in their own boſom, not only dividing their intereſt, and weakening their foundation, but likewiſe overturning and making void the very maxims of policy by which they ſupported and preſerved the Britiſh intereſt in Guinea.

The ſeparate traders play the game of the Dutch company for them.

I ſhall not ſay that the Dutch Weſt-India company had directly employed any inſtruments for blowing the coal of our diviſions, here at home, about the manner of carrying on the trade to Africa, but, if we may draw inferences from their former practices, they have given us ſufficient ground to believe, that they are a people capable of doing ſuch things, provided they find proper agents to work by; and I may confidently aver, that their careſſing our interlopers formerly (when they were ſuppreſſing their own) and their cajoling our ſeparate traders now, ſince the trade from hence has been laid open, looks too much like a deſign of making uſe of them as tools for ruining the Britiſh intereſt in

in Guinea, by dividing it both at home and abroad.

Such of the ſeparate traders as come within reach of the Dutch forts on the coaſt of Guinea, ſtrike to them.

I had almoſt forgotten to tell that, among the many other artifices practiſed by the Dutch Weſt-India company, for aggrandizing themſelves and their intereſt in thoſe parts, they oblige the generality of the ſeparate traders ſhips to ſtrike, and, in good manners, to ſalute their forts in Guinea; and then, from thence, they inculcate into the natives an opinion of the power and dominion which they exerciſe over the Britiſh ſhips and people.

An account of the names, ſituations, and diſtances one from the other, of the forts of the ſeveral European companies who have ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa.

But, to give the reader a more diſtinct notion of the uſefulneſs of the forts and ſettlements formerly mentioned, and how they are intermixt with the forts of other nations, I ſhall ſubjoin an account of all their ſeveral names of diſtinction, with their reſpective ſituations, and diſtances one from another, as they lie along the coaſt, from north to ſouth.

On the North Coaſt.

French	Senegal, in the entrance of the river Senegal.
French	Goree.
Engliſh	James-Iſland, in the entrance of the river Gambia.
Portugueze	Cutcheo.
Portugueze	Biſſeo.
Engliſh	Bence-Iſland.
Engliſh	York-Iſland.

On

On the Gold Coaſt.

		Miles diſtant.
Dutch	Axim — — — —	2
Brandenburgh	Aquedah — — —	2
Engliſh	Dickies-Cove — —	3
Dutch	Butteroe — — —	3
Engliſh	Succundee — — —	15
Dutch	Shumah — — —	9
Engliſh	Commenda — — —	12
Dutch	Comenda — — —	½
Dutch	De Mina — — —	9
Engliſh	Cape-Coaſt — — —	9
Engliſh	Fort-Royal — — —	1
Engliſh	Queen-Ann's Point —	½
Dutch	Mouree — — —	2
Engliſh	Anniſham — — —	3
Engliſh	Annamabo — — —	3
Engliſh	Agga — — — —	1
Dutch	Cormanteen — —	3
Dutch	Apough — — —	30
Engliſh	Shidah — — —	3
Engliſh	Winebah — — —	7
Engliſh	Accra — — — —	36
Dutch	Accra — — — —	½
Daniſh	Accra — — — —	3
Engliſh, French, Dutch	Whidah, the principal Place for purchaſing great numbers of negroes, about half a mile diſtant from each other.	

From this clear view of the intermixed ſituation of all theſe forts and factories, the different deſigns and intereſts of the ſeveral contending proprietors thereof, the naturally avaricious mercenary tempers, rapa-

The neceſſity of maintaining forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa farther evinced

cious

cious inclinations, and treacherous cruelties of the natives in general, the vicinity and multiplicity of the circumjacent petty principalities and ſtates (whoſe enmity or friendſhip, in point of trade or any thing elſe, is chiefly governed by the ſeveral alliances and confederations which they make between themſelves, as well as with the deputies or generals of the ſeveral European companies who trade among them) the conſtant underhand practices of theſe Europeans, whether in time of peace or war, and from the uncertainty and mutability of theſe alliances, except where their intereſt always ties the parties, according to the ſeveral emergencies which different times and things may produce, any conſiderate perſon may eaſily ſee the abſolute neceſſity of maintaining forts and factories, for the ſecurity and preſervation of the Britiſh intereſt on that coaſt; yea, the neceſſary uſe of them may be much more readily imagined than expreſſed. And certainly, how far ſoever the ſeparate traders unaccountable zeal, againſt the Royal African company, may have tranſported their humour beyond the bounds of a cool reflection, concerning the uſefulneſs of theſe forts, they may depend upon it, that if, by any misfortune whatſoever, they ſhould happen to fall into the hands of our foreign competitors on that coaſt, then the beſt treatment which the private traders themſelves could reaſonably hope for, would be only Polyphemus's fate, to be the laſt that ſhould be deſtroyed; that is, they would thereafter be ſtrictly diſcharged from trading any farther upon that coaſt, without paying an arbitrary duty to the Dutch Weſt-India company for their permiſſion, as the Portugueze, who were there long before them, do at this time.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Some arguments, ſhewing that the conſtitution of the Turkey company, or of any other regulated open trade, cannot be ſuited to the nature and circumſtances of the trade to Africa.

I Would gladly perſuade myſelf, that the ſeparate traders, at leaſt the greateſt part of them, are not of ſo tenacious a temper as to have hardened themſelves againſt all manner of conviction, but that, on the contrary, they will be now prevailed upon, by the force of reaſon, to relinquiſh their former miſtakes, and cloſe heartily with ſuch meaſures as, upon full and mature conſideration, ſhall be thought moſt reaſonable for carrying on the trade to Africa with the greateſt ſecurity and advantage, upon a national foot; yet ſome few there are among them (I am told) whoſe private intereſt and deſigns have a quite different tendency, and therefore, rather than ſeem to acknowledge themſelves to have been in an error all this time, are for perſevering in the ſame error ſtill, under the colour of a different denomination only; for, being convinced that the ſteps which they have already made are not juſtifiable, they propoſe that the trade to Africa ſhould, by diſſolving the preſent joint ſtock for good and all, be laid more open than ever, and carried on by a regulated company, like that to Turkey; yea,

The private traders propoſe now a regulated trade to Africa, upon the foot of ſuch a conſtitution as that of the Turkey company.

the

A ſhrewd ſuſpicion of the true reaſon why the private traders ſeem to ſlight the uſe of forts and ſettlements.

the view of ſome ſuch ſcheme may probably be one great reaſon why they have been at ſo much pains to depreciate the value of the company's forts and caſtles, as hoping, if that project ſhould happen to take, that the property of theſe would of courſe, at a very low eſtimation, fall into the hands of ſuch perſons only as ſhould then think fit to trade thither.

The private traders propoſe now to maintain the forts, if they may have their will.

Nor can this be reckoned a meer ſuggeſtion, when we conſider that the private traders have already made ſuch advances therein, as to have ſignified to the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations, that they are willing to come into a method for maintaining the forts and caſtles (if thought needful) upon the foot of a regulated open trade, like that to Turkey as aforeſaid.

The private traders deſign to have a ſhare at leaſt of the company's property gratis.

This looks too much like an intention of dealing pretty roundly, in the firſt place, with the company's property, and that too after a moſt prepoſterous manner; but the ſtreſs of the argument not lying there, I ſhall wave the conſideration thereof at preſent, and let the reader ſee that a regulated open trade to Africa, after the manner of that to Turkey, would be ſo far from mending the matter, that any farther experiment of that kind would, in all probability, compleat the ruin which the late experiment of laying the trade open has begun.

No man, I ſuppoſe, will doubt, but that a conſtitution may be very well ſuited to the nature and circumſtances of one particular branch of foreign trade, which can never be properly adapted to another trade, unavoidably attended with quite different circumſtances, and whoſe nature muſt conſequently require a different conſtitution, as well as different rules of management.

The conſtitution of one trade not always ſuitable to the nature of another.

It is no part of my preſent purpoſe to find fault with the conſtitution of the Turkey, or any other regulated company of this kingdom; but, by the by, it is very obſervable that, out of Britain, there is no ſuch conſtitution of trade in any other kingdom, ſtate or commonwealth in the whole world, that ever I could read or hear of: for all thoſe foreign trades which are regulated and confined to certain perſons in Britain, qualified as the conſtitution of the Turkey company requires, are wholly open and free to all people indiſtinctly, in all other kingdoms and ſtates whatſoever, in the ſame manner as our trade to Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. is carried on. And I am perſuaded that, upon examination, it would be thought no paradox to aſſert that, in the nature of convertible terms, any branch of foreign trade which can be carried on by a regulated open trade, ſuch as that to Turkey, Ruſſia, &c. might be carried on without any company at all; and that, vice verſa, if it were not practicable to have carried on ſuch trades as theſe without any limitation or regulation at all, ſuch a conſtitution as that of the Turkey company could never have brought any of them to bear: but theſe being conſtitutions of earlier times,

The conſtitution of the Turkey company no where regarded or followed out of England.

times, when our foreign trade in general was in its infancy, in compariſon to what it now is, and theſe branches of trade having ran in that channel, and being carried on all along in that method, for many years together, I ſhould be ſorry to ſee any new attempts made for altering the ſame, or making any infringements on the old conſtitution, innovations and new experiments being always dangerous in moſt caſes of that nature.

No parallel between the nature of the trade to Turkey and that to Africa, farther demonſtrated.

And that there is no parallel between the nature of the trade to Turkey and of that to Africa, may be farther ſeen from this, That whereas in Turkey there are, at moſt, but two or three principal places of trade, and all under the dominion and government of one Prince, whoſe ſubjects are tied by the rules and forms of certain courts of juſtice, it were no difficult matter for the Queen of Great-Britain, by her ambaſſador, to have her ſubjects there vindicated and righted, even if there had been no company, as the French King, the Venetians and the Dutch have done all along; but upon the coaſt of Africa there is an indefinite number of petty Princes and ſovereign ſtates, all independent of each other (as has been already related at large) and their people are ſo wholly void of all manner of principles of equity or juſtice, that, without the terror of a conſtant coercive power kept over their heads, on the one hand, and the temptation of ſuch preſents as are frequently made to them on the other, together with a politick management of the ſeveral alliances formerly mentioned, no European, who had any thing to loſe, could ever reckon upon any ſafety among them. But if the ſeparate traders to the coaſt of Africa will undertake to reduce all the natives

natives of that coaſt under the regular government of one Sovereign, and charm them ſo as to become as polite and civilized a people as thoſe of Conſtantinople, then, and not till then, can it ever be, that the conſtitution of our Turkey company may be a fit model and pattern for ſettling the trade to Africa.

The laying open the African trade owned to be the cauſe of all the confuſions in it; ſo the having it open ſtill, under a different name, will not mend the matter.

It is allowed by all parties, that the ſeveral confuſions which have happened in our trade to Africa have been chiefly occaſioned by the different intereſts of the ſeveral traders thither; and as the laying open that trade was the ſole cauſe thereof, it is abſurd to think that the effect can be taken away while the cauſe remains. So truly, in my humble opinion, the laying open that trade, with or without a company, muſt be always much at one upon the matter.

The vanity of pretending to maintain forts and caſtles by the contributions of precarious traders.

And ſince, by the ſeparate traders propoſing, at laſt, to come into a method for maintaining the forts and caſtles on the foot of an open regulated trade, it appears likewiſe that all parties do think forts and caſtles neceſſary for ſecuring and preſerving the Britiſh intereſt on that coaſt, it is certain, that were there no incongruity in the project of ſuch a regulated trade, yet even that ſame, of maintaining the vaſt charge of forts, caſtles, and alliances, by ſuch a precarious fund as that of voluntary contributions, would ſoon prove an inſurmountable difficulty; for though in the beginning, and in time of peace, the novelty of ſuch a conſtitution might poſſibly tempt ſeveral perſons to trade upon that foot for a ſpurt, and that their ſeveral regu-

lated contributions might, perhaps, do ſomething towards defraying the ſaid charge for ſome ſhort time, yet no man being bound, by ſuch a conſtitution, to trade longer, or for more ſtock, than he thinks fit, it is not to be ſuppoſed, but that, whenever they ſhould come to find their profit not anſwerable to their expectation, they would quickly draw their necks out of the collar, and give over the trade by degrees (as they have already done in the former caſe) till at laſt, for want of the needful contributions, the aforeſaid alliances would be neglected, and the forts and caſtles muſt, of courſe, become ruinous and deſerted, and then the old proverb made good, "That every man's buſineſs would be no man's buſineſs."

CHAP. VI.

Several farther arguments, proving that our trade to Africa cannot be preſerved and carried on, effectually, by any other method than that of a conſiderable joint ſtock, with excluſive privileges.

THE impracticability, or at leaſt improbability, of ever trading to Africa ſecurely, creditably and advantageouſly, in the method of either an illimited open trade, like that to Portugal, or of a regulated open trade, like that to Turkey, being already demonſtrated, as far as the nature of the caſe ſeems to require or admit of a demonſtration, it conſequently follows, that a ſuitable

ſuitable joint ſtock, with excluſive and other encouraging privileges, and the maintaining a coercive power on the coaſt of Africa, are the only probable means by which the African trade can be effectually carried on, ſo as to be made a permanent, creditable and advantageous trade to Britain; yet, for illuſtration of that poſition, I ſhall adduce ſome farther arguments from Reaſon, experience, and the univerſal practice of all nations who trade thither, to prove the ſame.

The 1ſt argument is founded on a general maxim obſerved by the Dutch, &c.

1ſt. The Dutch (who, of all nations whatſoever, are generally allowed to be the people, now extant, who have given the moſt convincing proofs of their conſummated knowledge and experience in trade) have laid it down for a maxim, that in all foreign trades, where the trade muſt be maintained by force and forts on the land, and where they cannot conveniently keep up an amity and correſpondence by ambaſſadors only, there ſeems to be an abſolute neceſſity of carrying on ſuch trades by joint ſtocks; and certainly, by parity of reaſon, the ſame maxim muſt hold equally good with us, as with them. Unity in their councils, and an uniformity in their rules of management, has laid the foundation of that ſtate, and reared it up to that mighty degree of ſtrength and power which makes them now ſo conſiderable both at home and abroad, according to their own motto, "Concordiâ res parvæ creſcunt." And though they be the great aſſerters of liberty, and do exerciſe it without control or limitation, as to all other trades, yet, upon the foot of the aforeſaid maxim, they have always found it neceſſary to carry on their trades to the Eaſt-Indies and the coaſt of Africa only, by companies with joint

ſtocks and excluſive privileges, and that, by reaſon of the great charge, danger and difficulties commonly attending them; yea, theſe companies are always protected and defended by the laws of their United Provinces, which are of the ſame force with them as acts of parliament are with us. But though we have likewiſe had companies with joint ſtocks, for trading to the Eaſt-Indies and the coaſt of Africa, yet thoſe not having been eſtabliſhed with the ſanction of parliamentary conſtitutions, a door was always left open for frequently diſturbing their meaſures, and interrupting the progreſs of their trades and acquiſitions, chiefly by reaſon of a divided intereſt always kept up among ourſelves; inſomuch that it might have been properly enough ſaid, that we had verified the very reverſe of the Dutch motto, viz. "Diſcordia res magnæ dilabuntur."

The 2d argument is drawn from the univerſal conſent of nations, differing in other forms of government.

2dly. Whenever we ſee ſeveral great and wiſe nations, having various forms of government, and whoſe meaſures are influenced by different inclinations and intereſts, yet conſpiring, as it were by univerſal conſent, in the ſame means for acquiring the ſame ends of profit, power and honour, we may reaſonably conclude, that they are much nearer the right way for accompliſhing thoſe ends, than any ſet of private men whatſoever holding contrary opinions, eſpecially when ſwayed by perſonal profit or loſs, or by any capricious humour, pique or prejudice againſt ſome other intereſted party. Thus we ſee that, how different ſoever the ſeveral and reſpective intereſts of the French, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburghers, &c. are, with reſpect to one another, yet they all do center in this poſitive opinion, That joint ſtocks with

with excluſive privileges, and the having forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, for maintaining a conſtant coercive power there, and for preſerving alliances with the natives, are, by much, the propereſt means for carrying on that trade with ſecurity, credit and advantage; and therefore, conſidering likewiſe how far the Royal African company of England and their predeceſſors have proceeded, and do ſtill, after many years experience, inſiſt upon the ſame topick, it looks like too much preſumption and a ſelf-conceited arrogance in ſome few private perſons (who ſeem now to perſonate the ſeparate traders here) to pretend to ſet up their own humourſome opinion, dogmatically, againſt the conſummated experience and univerſal ſuffrage of the whole trading world beſide, unleſs they bring better evidence for ſupporting their bare opinion, than any weak reaſon adduced by them as yet.

The 3d argument is deduced from a certain maxim of policy obſerved by kingdoms and ſtates, and followed by the Dutch Eaſt-India company

3dly. There is a maxim of policy, which holds good among companies for trade, as well as kingdoms and ſtates, That wherever any power or force is to be exerciſed, the more contracted and united that power is, the more prevalent will be the effects thereof. Applicable to this is the dying old man's advice to his ſons, repreſented in the well-known fable of the Bundle of Arrows; and the great reaſon for the late union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland (though, even before then, they were ſeparately under the government of one ſovereign Prince) was to corroborate their ſtrength, by making them one undivided kingdom, the ſame in intereſt, inclination and power, both in offence and defence: "Vis unita fortior." So likewiſe

it is very obſervable, that though the Dutch traded for ſome time to the Eaſt-Indies by ſeveral joint ſtocks, belonging ſeparately to the reſpective provinces which raiſed the ſame, yet finding, upon trial, that the different intereſts of their ſeveral joint ſtocks did interfere one with the other, the States (contrary to the native humour and genius of a republick) did incorporate all theſe joint ſtocks into one common capital, to the end that, for the general intereſt and advantage of the whole, the ſame might be the more equally managed, by certain uniform rules of government, both abroad and at home.

The 4th argument is inferred from a parallel inſtance in the caſe of the Engliſh Eaſt - India trade.

4thly. A farther inſtance of the preferableneſs of carrying on any ſuch trade by a joint ſtock, may be had nearer home, from a caſe exactly parallel to that of the Royal African company; for our trade to the Eaſt-Indies was eſtabliſhed and carried on, for many years, much after the ſame manner, and ſtruggling with ſuch-like interruptions and difficulties, from time to time, as have been already narrated in relation to our trade to Africa, till, in the year 1698, the private traders to the Eaſt-Indies obtained an act of parliament for laying that trade open in the method of a regulated company, reſerving only the old company's right of trading, in manner, for the term and to the effect mentioned in the ſaid act; yet, upon trial, even thoſe who procured that act found it neceſſary to unite themſelves and their ſeveral ſtocks, in proportion to their reſpective ſubſcriptions, ſo as to carry on the trade thereafter only with one common joint ſtock; and though, at leaſt to all outward appearance, there ſeemed to be an irreconcileable conteſt and ſtated emulation between the

the new and the old Eaſt-India companies, yet both of them became ſo very ſenſible of the deſtructive conſequences neceſſarily attending a divided intereſt in trading to thoſe remote parts, that they are now, at laſt, happily conjoined into one company, having the ſame joint ſtock, intereſt and deſigns; and it is alſo very remarkable, that thoſe forts and ſettlements in India, which ſeemed to have been formerly ſo much ſlighted and depreciated by the ſeparate traders thither, do now make up a conſiderable article in the eſtimation of their own preſent joint ſtock.

The 5th argument is by ſtating contraries in oppoſition one to the other.

5thly. As contraries appear beſt by ſtating them in oppoſition one to the other, ſo, in all dubious caſes of the ſame or like nature, the happieſt experiences are thoſe which have been gained by the calamities of times paſt. Thus, while our trade to the Eaſt-Indies lay quite open, from the year 1653 to the year 1657, that method proved ſo very deſtructive to the ſeveral private traders thither, that the governing power at that time found it neceſſary to unite them all into one company, with one joint ſtock, &c. So likewiſe, while the trade to Africa was laid open, before the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond, the Dutch company took ſuch advantage of our ſeparate traders, that their loſſes were computed to about 300,000 *l.* as is already narrated at large, page 85. But, by the ſeveral particulars formerly likewiſe mentioned in page 88, it is manifeſt that, during the ſmall number of years in which the preſent Royal African company had the countenance and protection of the government, ſo as not to have had their meaſures embarraſſed by any ſeparate intereſt at home, the Britiſh intereſt on the coaſt of Africa was main-

tained and advanced much more ſecurely, creditably and advantageouſly, for the common intereſt of this kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging, than ever it was either before or ſince that time; and had the privileges of the company's charter been then eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, ſo as to have prevented the domeſtick diviſions which have ſince happened in that trade, by reaſon of our ſeparate intereſts, it is more than probable that the Britiſh intereſt had, by this time, been in a more flouriſhing condition than that of any other European nation whatſover, on the coaſt of Africa.

The 6th argument is drawn from the nature and neceſſity of having alliances with the natives.

6thly. There was never yet any ſubſtantial commerce in the world carried on, but by means of mutual alliances and confederations made with the natives, how barbarous ſoever; and it is manifeſt that alliances of this nature can be made only by Princes themſelves, or powers derived from them to bodies politick and communities, who are ſtable, permanent and reſponſible, continually ready upon the place, by their agents, to expoſtulate with or give ſatisfaction to their allies, which can never be maintained with individuals or ſingle perſons, who being tranſient and mortal, no man knows where to find them when they happen to commit any injuries; and therefore, a ſociety eſtabliſhed with the ſanction of a parliamentary conſtitution, and having a ſufficient joint ſtock, with excluſive privileges, and a coercive power to maintain their alliances, as well as to defend their trade, muſt needs, of courſe, be in a more probable way for anſwering all the ends propoſed by the alliances above-mentioned.

7thly

7thly. Without ſome fixed ſociety, inveſted with a conſiderable joint ſtock and ſuitable privileges, there can be no ſure dependence upon having the Britiſh plantations ſupplied duly with ſufficient numbers of negroes at moderate or certain rates; for, while the trade lies open, ſcores of private traders do trade for one year, who are never heard of thereafter, and theſe, minding only a preſent gain, do exact upon and ſqueeze the planters at a moſt extravagant rate, without any regard to conſequences, as having no thoughts of going thither again; whereas a ſettled ſociety, having the ſole management of the trade, muſt, in all their meaſures, have a ſpecial regard to perpetuity. And thus it was during the ſhort time that the Royal African company enjoyed the trade excluſively; they ſold their negroes at very moderate rates, and truſted the planters, from time to time, with conſiderable ſums of money *, till they could conveniently pay the ſame out of the produce of thoſe negroes labour, which private perſons are ſeldom able or willing to do, and although they would, yet one ſubſtantial creditor is always much more indulging and encouraging to a debtor, than an indefinite number of ſeveral petty creditors can be ſuppoſed to be, becauſe each of theſe, having different views, as well as ſeparate intereſts, do commonly ſtrive who ſhall out-do the other in diligence for recovering payment, "quovis modo," till they ruin the common debtor, and render him incapable of doing juſtice to either; whereas, were he concerned only with one ſociety of diſcreet perſons, they would, for their own intereſt, have a generous and compaſſionate

The 7th argument is founded upon the true intereſt of the Britiſh plantations in America.

* Vide Page 88.

paſſionate regard to his circumſtances, and, by a reaſonable forbearance, enable him to pay themſelves, and to continue a correſpondence and dealing with them, and to improve his own plantation into the bargain; which indeed is, or at leaſt ought to be, the chief end of the negro trade, becauſe upon that wholly depends the great national advantage produced by the plantation trade to Britain.

The 8th argument is drawn from the advantages of ſettling the Aſſiento with the Spaniards and Portugueze.

8thly. While the trade to Africa lies open, we can never ſettle the Aſſiento, nor make any advantageous contracts with the Spaniards or Portugueze, to furniſh them with negroes in their Weſt-Indies; for as, on the one hand, they will have no dependence on the uncertain engagements of private perſons, whoſe circumſtances cannot be well known to them, ſo, on the other hand, private perſons can never (without a mixture of folly and madneſs) undertake to furniſh certain numbers of negroes, for a term of years, at determinate and fixed prices, when, at the ſame time, they cannot poſſibly know but that, by reaſon of the different interfering intereſts of many ſeparate traders, the prices of negroes upon the coaſt of Africa may be ſo far advanced, as that the prime coſt may far exceed the prices at which they contracted to deliver them in the Weſt-Indies, which would unavoidably be a very great loſs to the nation; whereas a ſociety, veſted with the ſole power of trading to Africa, cannot fail of taking their meaſures in making ſuch contracts, ſo as to gain conſiderably by them; and it is a certain truth, that whatever is gained by any of her Majeſty's ſubjects, whether in a ſociety or ſeparately, from any foreign nation, muſt of courſe be a national advantage,

advantage, in adding to the ſtrength and riches of this kingdom.

9thly. While the trade to Africa lies open, it can never be diſtinctly known how far (nationally ſpeaking) we may be either gainers or loſers by it, for we may have the appearance of a briſk and flouriſhing trade, by ſeeing a conſiderable number of ſhips going out and coming in, yea, and perhaps ſome few particular cunning perſons gaining conſiderably by commiſſions, &c. while, at the ſame time, our national intereſt is ſinking daily, in the manner formerly narrated, till it dwindle away to nothing at laſt, and be inſenſibly twiſted out of our hands, by the cunning ſtratagems and undermining practices of our foreign competitors, before we can have ſufficient time to apply a remedy for recovery thereof; whereas, by confining that trade to one joint ſtock, the great council of the nation may always be ſatisfied, from time to time, of the company's proceedings both at home and abroad, ſo that, by knowing where the diſtemper lies, they may, with the greater aſſurance, preſcribe a cure, as occaſion may require. Nor can it juſtly be ſuppoſed, but that the view of a perpetual and uninterrupted ſucceſſion in the management of that trade muſt, as well as the hopes of perſonal profit, naturally inſpire the managers with a much nobler emulation, in exerting their utmoſt endeavours for advancing our national intereſt, beyond that of any foreign competitor, on the coaſt of Africa, than can be reaſonably expected from the irregular, diſconcerted and interfering meaſures of an uncertain number of raw and unexperienced novices, trading ſeparately by divided intereſts, liable

The 9th argument is drawn from the benefit of records, and knowing, at any time, the exact balance of our national profit or loſs by any trade.

liable to no cenſure but their own, and having no other imaginable views but only a little ſelfiſh preſent gain, though the national intereſt ſhould utterly periſh thereby.

The 10th argument is grounded upon the ſafety that is in the multitude of counſellors, pointing at one common end.

10thly. The wiſeſt of men tells us, that "in the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety," and beyond all peradventure it is ſo; for our underſtandings are ſo weak, our knowledge ſo circumſcribed, and our lives ſo ſhort, that, without conjoining the experience of ſome ages together, we are, of ourſelves, able to make but a very indifferent proficiency, even in the eaſieſt and moſt intelligible ſcience that can be thought of. However, indeed ſome few there are, of all ages and countries, who muſt be allowed to have a much more tranſcendent genius for ſeveral purpoſes, than the generality of the reſt of mankind; and therefore it is the great and ſingular advantage of all ſelect and compacted ſocieties, having the ſame undivided intereſts, and which are eſtabliſhed upon ſolid foundations, that the wiſdom, knowledge, capacity, experience and application of theſe few, do commonly ſupply the defects of many other perſons, who are not endowed with an equal ſhare of the like qualifications.

This is illuſtrated farther, in a compariſon between the body politick and body natural.

Thus a joint-ſtock company, eſtabliſhed upon a fixed and ſuitable conſtitution, cannot fail of trading with much more ſecurity, and a far greater probability of producing many national advantages, than private perſons trading ſeparately can do; for the former have not only the diſcoveries, obſervations and experience of their predeceſſors ſtanding

ſtanding always upon record before them, by a continued ſeries of journals, &c. but (as in the body natural) ſo even the weakeſt member of ſuch a ſociety may, in ſome reſpect or other, be made uſeful to the common intereſt of the whole body politick, yea, and partake too, in ſome meaſure, of the knowledge, underſtanding and judgment of thoſe other members whom God has bleſſed with a more than ordinary portion thereof.

Other conſequential advantages attending ſuch regular and fix'd conſtitutions.

And as theſe ſocieties do commonly find out and make choice of ſuch deſerving perſons as are thought moſt capable of ſerving their intereſt, in the ſeveral qualities of generals, chiefs, agents, factors, correſpondents, maſters and navigators of ſhips, ſuper-cargoes, ſurgeons, ſecretaries, clerks, accomptants, book-keepers, caſhiers, ſtore and warehouſe-keepers, &c. ſo they can beſt afford the giving them ſuch ſuitable ſalaries and other encouragements, as (if but tolerably well principled) might put th m above the temptation of being corrupted; and it is moſt certain that, if the African trade were once fully ſettled and fixed on the baſis of ſuch a ſuitable conſtitution as would naturally oblige the natives to come to our terms and conditions of barter, inſtead of impoſing theirs upon us, as now they do, the profits thereof could very well bear that charge. So that ſuch a ſociety might then ſtand in place of an academy, for training an indefinite number of people in the regular knowledge of all matters relating to the ſeveral branches of the African trade, and the nation would of courſe reap the honour and advantage thereof.

The

The reverſe of all theſe muſt be the effect of a divided intereſt, for the reaſons ſubjoined.

The reverſe of all which may be eaſily gathered from that infallible poſition in the goſpel, "A houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand." The meaning whereof relates to kingdoms, cities and corporations, as well as to private families, as appears expreſsly by the context.

Now let us ſuppoſe an indefinite number of perſons trading ſeparately from hence to Africa; their having quite ſeparate ſtocks muſt conſequently make them have divided intereſts; and as we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe them to be all equally endowed with the ſame neceſſary qualifications, ſo they muſt unavoidably have different views and rules of management, and therefore (for want of both the cor-relative and ſubſervient means of aſſiſtance afore-mentioned) the generality of theſe ſeparate adventurers, truſting moſt commonly both the projection and abſolute management of the voyage to their reſpective ſhipmaſters, who indeed are as ignorant of the trade as thoſe who employ them, muſt of courſe come off with loſs, when perhaps ſome few cunning and deſigning perſons among them may get ſome private advantage to themſelves, at the expence of irrecoverably loſing the whole trade to the nation at laſt; yea, and whenever they die, their experience dies with them.

The 11th argument is drawn from the neceſſity of maintaining a balance of power on the coaſt of Africa.

11thly. In all remote places of trade, the countries of petty Princes, with whom her Majeſty cannot conveniently have ſtate alliances and regular correſpondencies, by ambaſſadors or other publick miniſters, there is a neceſſity of maintaining a power

power equal at leaſt with that of other European nations; without which it is obſerved, that ſuch petty Princes, by the cunning deſigns of ſtronger powers, have often been drawn into contracts, whereby, for ſmall conſiderations, they agree to exclude all other nations from the trade of their reſpective countries. Examples of this nature are frequent *, not only from the impoſitions of the Dutch Eaſt-India company upon the natives of Japan, Amboyna, Pollaroon, Polloway, Dam, Macaſſar, Zelon, Bantam, &c. but likewiſe from the practices of the Dutch Weſt-India company, who, taking example by the former, have played the ſame game over and over again on the coaſt of Africa; witneſs particularly their having contracted with the natives of Fantyn, to pay them a good round ſum of ready money in hand, beſides a certain yearly penſion, in conſideration of their aid in expelling the Engliſh from Cormonteen-Fort, and of their other auxiliary aſſiſtances ever ſince; † under the pretext of which methods they ſet up a pretended legal title for juſtifying their proceedings in endeavouring to undermine and exclude the Britiſh, and all other European nations, from trading upon that coaſt, ſo that, although it had been practicable to have carried on the

* Vide the 96th page of Sir Joſiah Child's book, formerly cited. The methods of the Dutch proceedings in all ſuch encroachments upon the Engliſh, in all times, having been to make one bold ſtep, and then ſpend ſome years in allaying the noiſe of that, or paying for it not the hundredth part of what the concernment of it is worth to this kingdom; and when the noiſe of that is well allayed or bought off in Europe, then to make a new encroachment. So they began at Japan and Amboyna, and ſince that deceived us of Pollaroon and Polloway, then of Dam and Macaſſar, and laſtly of Bantam, moving ſtill from the eaſt weſterly, &c.

† Vide the Engliſh tranſlation of Mr. Boſman's letters, pag. 59, & alibi.

the trade to Africa in an open regulated way, if other nations had followed the ſame method (which is never to be granted) yet, in regard that all other European nations do trade thither by joint ſtocks, it would ſeem as unequal a match to enter and engage raw and unexperienced private traders againſt ſuch compacted and united conſtitutions of experienced counſellors, as to fight a diſordered undiſciplined multitude againſt a well-governed army of veteran troops, ſupported with an inexhauſtible treaſure.

The 12th argument is from the conſideration of the Dutch company's ſetting now on foot a deſign of engroſſing the ſtaple of ſugars, as they have that of ſpices.

12thly. The Dutch Weſt-India company, having no ſettlements or plantations in the Weſt-Indies, but only that of Curacoa, a mere rock, and Surinam, a moſt unwholeſome country, for the moſt part under water, and therefore ſcarcely improveable ſo as to quit coſt, notwithſtanding their indefatigable and very chargeable endeavours for bringing it to bear, have, it ſeems, bent their thoughts now upon ſettling ſugar-plantations on the Gold-Coaſt of Africa, a place as improveable as the beſt of our Weſt-India plantations. They have already ſent for * 200 Whidah ſlaves, and expect, by their next ſhipping from Holland, all proper materials for making ſugar in Guinea, wherein, if ſucceſsful (as in all probability they may be, if not counteracted in that deſign) it is much to be feared (conſidering the multitudes of negro-ſlaves on that coaſt, whoſe labour is very cheap, and the ſhortneſs of the voyage from Holland to the coaſt of Guinea, in reſpect of that to the Eaſt-Indies, from whence they already import great

* Vide Sir Dalby Thomas's letter, dated at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 29th of July, 1708.

great quantities of ſugar) that in ſome few years time, when our American colonies will be obliged to make ſugar at ſo much greater charge than the Dutch in Africa, they may be able to underſel us by very much, and conſequently have the ſtaple of ſugars over all Europe, as they have already that of all ſpices; which conſideration alone (barring the many other weighty ones formerly mentioned) is of itſelf ſufficient to open our eyes, and convince us of the abſolute neceſſity of ſpeedily ſettling and fixing our trade to Africa in a joint-ſtock company, with excluſive and other ſuitable privileges, as the only way of ſplitting and defeating the deſigns of our competitors in that trade, with a wedge of their own timber; that is, by taking ſuch proper meaſures with the natives as are not practicable to be done in the method of an open trade, otherways than by making open war upon our neighbours, which is a remedy, I hope, we ſhall not run ourſelves upon.

Several other arguments might alſo be offered, upon the ſame or ſuch-like topicks, for carrying on the trade to Africa by a joint-ſtock, with excluſive privileges; but more arguments being thought needleſs at preſent, I ſhall reſume the firſt queſtion ſtated in the introduction, Whether, as we are now circumſtanced, with relation to our many foreign competitors on the coaſt of Africa, it may be thought more adviſeable, for the nation's intereſt and advantage, to carry on that trade by a collective ſociety of capable and intelligent men, having one and the ſame joint-ſtock, intereſt, deſigns and uniform rules of government and management, with excluſive privileges, &c. or by all ſuch perſons, indiſtinctly, as have a mind to trade thither, when and how they pleaſe,

with ſeparate ſtocks, divided intereſts, and different deſigns and rules of management?

In anſwer to which, it is now preſumed, that, upon ſerious and mature conſideration of all the premiſſes, any intelligent and impartial reader will be inclinable to conclude,

1ſt. That the preſervation and improvement of the trade to Africa is a matter of very high importance to this kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging.

2dly. That forts and ſettlements on the coaſt, and alliances with the natives, are abſolutely neceſſary for the defence, preſervation and improvement of that trade.

3dly. That by any other method, than that of a joint-ſtock, with excluſive privileges, the ſaid forts, ſettlements and alliances, can never be effectually maintained, and the ſaid trade carried on, ſo as to be made a permanent, creditable and advantageous trade to Britain.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Some popular objections againſt ſettling and carrying on the trade to Africa by an excluſive joint-ſtock, fairly ſtated and anſwered.

ACcording to my weak conception of things, the three propoſitions concluding the former chapter, are, for the many reaſons already given, as evident and demonſtrable truths as any propoſition whatſoever, of which we can have only a moral certainty; yet ſome perſons of more refined heads (perhaps to ſhew their parts, or rather humour) will ſtill nevertheleſs be raiſing duſt, and ſtarting objections againſt the ſame, either in whole or in part, though more eſpecially againſt the third propoſition, until the wiſdom of the parliament think fit to put an end to this paper counter-ſcuffle, by ſettling the trade to Africa on ſuch a fixed and ſolid foundation as may leave no door open for the farther cavilling of every pretender.

The truth is, I do not foreſee that any material objection can be offered againſt all, or either of theſe propoſitions, to which a clear ſolution may not be had out of ſome or other of the foregoing ſheets; but leſt the advocates for an open trade to Africa may have any ſeeming pretence left for triumphing before victory, I ſhall fairly ſtate and anſwer ſuch of their objections as occur to my memory at preſent, with promiſe to give full and particular anſwers to ſuch others as they ſhall think fit to exhibit, after the peruſal of this treatiſe.

OBJECTION I. A joint-ſtock company, with excluſive privileges, is a monopoly inconſiſtent with the natural right of the ſubject, and the common liberty of mankind.

ANSWER. This argument proves either too much, or nothing at all; for the principle upon which it is raiſed ſtrikes at the very root and foundation of all ſorts of government, whether eccleſiaſtick or civil. But the general good of mankind being the great end of all government, the humours, liberties, yea, and private intereſts too, of particular perſons, muſt always yield and give way to the common ſafety and general intereſt of the whole ſyſtem of rationals. Thus it is that indefinite numbers, even of free-born men, are, contrary to their own natural inclinations, frequently preſſed for the publick ſervice in fleets and armies. We ſee that, in the caſe of a ſiege, fire, or the like, ſeveral citizens houſes are pulled down, or blown up, to ſave the whole city; and the hands of idiots, lunaticks and furious perſons tied up, by ſpecial laws, from having the power of hurting themſelves or others. Yea farther, many people have got the word monopoly in their mouths, who know or conſider very little of either its ſignification or import. I queſtion very much whether we, of this iſland in particular, might not have been all this while ſtaked down to agriculture only, without having enjoyed the benefit of thoſe many advantages produced by our late improvements in navigation, trade, and manufactures, were it not for thoſe encouragements which have, from time to time, been given, by monopolies, to the introducers and promoters of all mechanick arts and other uſeful inventions among us. And had it not been for the ſame reaſon, I know not why all the country gentlemen, farmers,

farmers, yeomen, and others, might not as juſtly raiſe an out-cry againſt the excluſive privileges contained in the ſeveral charters of all the cities, boroughs and corporations in Britain. But indeed our capacities are not ſo comprehenſive, nor our abilities ſo very extraordinary, but that one good trade and calling (if duly looked after) may ſufficiently ſerve and employ the time of one man; and doubtleſs, the more we confine ourſelves to any one particular employment, the more expert we muſt be in the knowledge and practice thereof, which is another great reaſon why the charge and management of all difficult undertakings ſhould be confined to certain ſets of men, ſet apart for making the proſecution thereof the chief end of their ſtudies.

OBJECT. II. The limits of the Royal African Company's charter comprehends no leſs than the trade of 6000 miles along the coaſt of Africa, which is too great an extent to be truſted to the management of any one ſociety whatſoever.

ANSW. The groſs of all the trade of the Royal African Company, the private traders, and all other Europeans whatſoever, on the coaſt of Africa, is between the river Senegal, near Cape-Verde, and Cape-Lopez near the Line, which comprehends no more than 15 deg. N. Lat. but by reaſon of the coaſts winding and falling in to the Eaſtward, the meaſure by land muſt be ſomething more than in Lat. And if, now and then, ſome few ſhips happen to trade farther to the Northward, or to a place or two on the coaſt of Angola, Southward, yet even the trade of theſe is within the limits of Cape-Blanco, in 20 deg. N. Lat. and of the Southern part of Angola, to about 10 deg. S. Lat. which (barring the winding of the coaſt) will not be the third part of the limits mentioned

in the objection; but let the extent of the Royal African Company's charter be what it will, I ſuppoſe from Salle, in 15 deg. N. Lat. to the Cape of Good Hope, in 35 deg. S. Lat. (which I am told it is) I ſee no reaſon why a ſociety, eſtabliſhed for the preſervation and improvement of that trade, for the general advantage of Britain and the plantations thereunto belonging, ſhould be crampt in either their privileges, or the extent of their charter, any more than the ſeveral other trading companies erected by foreign kingdoms and ſtates for the ſame or the like ends, eſpecially when we look back, and conſider that, during all the ſeveral periods of time in which an unreſtrained liberty was either aſſumed by, or allowed to private perſons, to encroach upon the charter of the preſent Royal African Company, or any of their predeceſſors, ſince ever we had any footing in Africa, the trade thither always declined and came to little or nothing, until revived and reſtored again by ſucceſſive new grants, with excluſive privileges, upon every ſuch occaſion.

OBJECT. III. A trade confined to the management of a joint-ſtock company is commonly carried on from the port of the metropolis only, and by that means all the other out-ports of the kingdom are virtually excluded from having any ſhare in the benefit and advantage of that trade.

ANSW. This may ſeem to be a plauſible objection with ſome inconſiderate people, but has indeed nothing in it at all, if we conſider, that during all the time in which the trade to Africa has been open by act of parliament, theſe 11 years paſt, no ſhip was ſent thither from any port in England, except that of London, and ſome very few from Briſtol, and two or three from Liverpool, for an experiment, in the beginning; from which

which laſt port no ſhip has been ſent thither theſe ſix or ſeven years paſt, for the reaſons given page 105. So that truly, whether the trade to Africa be carried on excluſively, or in an open method, it is, and always will be, much at one with reſpect to all the out-ports of the kingdom, for a ſortable cargo, proper for the coaſt of Africa, cannot be conveniently had at any other port than that of London only; nor can it be denied but that, for lading even theſe few ſhips which have been ſent from Briſtol, ſome parts of their reſpective cargoes were ſent by land-carriages from London; yea, formerly no ſhips were ſent from the port of London itſelf, to the coaſt of Africa, but what had the chief part of their cargoes from Holland, until the preſent Royal African Company introduced and encouraged the firſt making of ſeveral of our manufactures here, which are proper for the trade of that coaſt.

OBJECT. IV. If the trade to Africa be confined, ſo as to be carried on by a joint-ſtock only, thoſe who have lately united with us (meaning Scotland) will be thereby excluded from having any ſhare in that trade; and the hopes of making advantages by trade being the chief motives which induced them to agree to the Union, it were unreaſonable to fruſtrate their expectations, ſo far as to ſhut them out, for good and all, from the right of trading to ſo extenſive a part of the world as the coaſt of Africa.

ANSW. This objection is much of the ſame nature with the immediate preceding one, and therefore the ſame anſwer given to the former may, in a great meaſure, ſerve this. However, for the farther ſatisfaction of thoſe who have lately united with us, this objection ſhall be more particularly conſidered in its full force.

In the year 1695, Scotland eſtabliſhed a company, by an act of the parliament of that kingdom, for trading to Africa and both the Indies; and as the deſign was generally allowed to be very noble in itſelf, ſo was the conſtitution moſt ſuitable to the deſign. But having neither ſtrength enough, nor a ſufficient ſtock of their own, for proſecuting ſo great and extenſive an undertaking, and being fruſtrated of the aſſiſtance which they expected from hence, and from ſome parts beyond ſea, and Scotland itſelf not producing cargoes of ſortable goods proper for either the trade to Africa or that to the Eaſt-Indies, they ſeemed, in ſome manner, to lay aſide, or at leaſt ſuſpend, any deſign of trading to theſe two parts of the world for ſome time, and bent their thoughts chiefly on ſettling a colony in America, to compaſs which they made indeed a conſiderable effort; but the encouraging that project not being then thought conſiſtent with the intereſt of England, in a ſeparate ſtate, and the conſtitution of that company being thought incompatible with the laws of England, in an united ſtate, it was agreed that, by the late union of both kingdoms, that company ſhould be diſſolved; and as to all foreign trade, and the laws concerning export and import, Scotland is now under the ſame predicament with all the other parts of the united kingdom of Great-Britain.

I have been at ſome pains to inform myſelf concerning the proceedings of that company of Scotland, and do not find that ever they ſent any ſhip to the coaſt of Africa, except one, and the outward cargo of that one itſelf was brought from Holland to Leith, which now is not practicable by law; and though, by the Union, all the inhabitants of Scotland are entitled to the ſame freedom

freedom of trading to Africa which the inhabitants of all the other ports of the united kingdom have, yet there has not been ſo much as any one ſingle ſhip ſent from Scotland to Africa ſince the commencement of the Union; which ſhews evidently, that either they have no great inclination, or that, of themſelves, they are under ſome inſuperable incapacity for proſecuting ſo hazardous and difficult a trade: ſo that, indeed, any well-grounded hopes which the gentlemen of that country can be ſuppoſed to have, of ſharing in the particular advantages to be had by the African trade, muſt be only from a joint-ſtock company; for, as they are equally free with the other ſubjects of Great-Britain to become adventurers in the joint-ſtock propoſed, and conſequently to have a proportional ſhare of the profits, ſo a company, having the ſole management and direction of the trade, may order matters ſo as to lade a ſhip or ſhips for Africa, from any convenient port or ports of the united kingdom, where a lading may be had, either of proviſions or any other commodity whatſoever, proper for the coaſt of Africa, without being neceſſarily obliged to ſend a ſortable cargo from thence, becauſe, to anſwer that again, they may ſend little or nothing of theſe particular commodities in their other ſhips; whereas, in the method of an open trade, particular private traders, having different intereſts, cannot poſſibly have ſo extenſive or comprehenſive a view of the trade at once, as a ſociety acting by certain uniform rules of management can have; and therefore every private trader minding only his own private concern and preſent gain, the trade muſt of courſe, as it is now, be confined to that port where all and every one of them can have ſortable cargoes, unleſs an excluſive joint-ſtock company

be

be eſtabliſhed, and, upon trial, find it practicable to contrive matters otherways.

I can very juſtly aver, that I wiſh as well to the intereſt of thoſe who are lately united with us as any of the ſeparate traders can do, though, under the colour of a piece of pretended juſtice to that part of the united kingdom, they would, for their own ſelfiſh ends, keep us ſtill groping in the dark, while they themſelves would be fiſhing in troubled waters. I own I have too honourable an opinion of the worthy and ingenious gentlemen of that country, ever to ſuppoſe, and much leſs to believe, that, like the dog in the fable, they will neither do, nor let do; that is, that, for the ſake of retaining a mere imaginary fruitleſs right of trading to a part of the world for which they have not the proper ſubject or medium of trade, they would obſtruct the generous endeavours of others in purſuing a national deſign, which (if ſucceſsful) muſt naturally diffuſe its advantages, in ſome reſpect or other, throughout the whole united kingdom, by adding to the ſtrength, riches, power and credit thereof.

OBJECT. V. By confining the African trade to a joint-ſtock company, all the profits and advantages thereof can redound only to a ſmall number of adventurers immediately concerned in that ſtock; whereas, by having the trade open in the method of a regulated company, like that to Turkey, vaſt numbers of all her Majeſty's ſubjects may have a ſhare of the profits.

ANSW. This objection is already more than ſufficiently obviated by the ſeveral arguments contained in the preceding chapter, concerning the nature of a joint-ſtock; and indeed the very reverſe of what is ſuggeſted in this objection, will, upon examination, be found to be true; for great

numbers of perſons of all ranks, men, women and children, may very well be concerned in an excluſive joint-ſtock, for the reaſons particularly mentioned in the 10th argument of the aforeſaid preceding chapter, and, de facto, it always happens ſo. But when an intricate trade, attended with many difficulties, like that to Africa, is carried on in any open method whatſoever, without a joint-ſtock, the trade, and all the profits which can be made by it, muſt unavoidably, in ſome ſhort proceſs of time, fall of courſe into the hands of ſome few particular perſons, whoſe cunning will out-do that of their neighbours; yea, and if the conſtitution of the Turkey company were made the model by which the African trade ſhould be regulated, the far greater part of all the ſeparate traders themſelves, who now urge that method, would be thereby excluded as illegitimate perſons, that is, as not being qualified in the terms of that conſtitution.

OBJECT. VI. A joint-ſtock company is good for nothing, but to carry on a ſtock-jobbing trade, and the preſent Royal African Company have cheated the nation by ſtock-jobbing, and dividing their ſtock among the ſeveral adventurers, by which means their ſtock is become worth little or nothing.

ANSW. At firſt view, this ſeems to be a very heavy charge, though indeed it imports but little. There was never yet any great convenience or advantage in the management of any worldly concern, which has not been attended with ſome certain inconvenience or other.

" Commoditas omnis ſua fert incommoda ſecum."

But

But to argue ſo as to condemn the uſe of any thing from the abuſe thereof, is ſuch a method of reaſoning as can never paſs with men of ſound and unbiaſſed judgments; for one might, with as much reaſon, conclude, that if, in ſome former ages, there has happened to be, here and there, a biſhop who did not live up to the dignity of that character, but was guilty of ſome groſs immoralities, therefore the office of a biſhop was bad in itſelf. I am ſure this would be reckoned a very ridiculous way of arguing, and yet the firſt part of the objection is the very ſame upon the matter.

It is no concern of mine to plead in defence of ſtock-jobbing; however, ſuppoſing (for example) that any of the adventurers in the joint-ſtock of the Royal African Company thinks fit to ſell his ſhares, as being his own property, and perhaps the next day again buys more ſhares of that or any other ſtock, from other hands (which is called ſtock-jobbing) what can the general ſtock of the company be either the better or worſe for any imaginary value that ſuch particular perſons may ſeem to put upon it? But whatever may be in that, is this a practice peculiar to the Royal African Company only? No; let any man read but the common news-papers, and he will ſee the ſame practice in relation to all other ſtocks at home and abroad; and, if it be an abuſe, have we not alſo tally-jobbers, land-jobbers, houſe-jobbers, horſe-jobbers, and many other jobbers too, who ſtand more in need of a reformation.

Then, as to the ſecond part of the objection, although it had been true, as it is not, it would be only argumentum ad hominem, and nothing at all as to the nature of the thing itſelf; yea, the managers of the Royal African Company (who doubtleſs

leſs are the perſons pointed at in the objection) have already openly declared, that, by particulars, and proper vouchers ready to be produced to the parliament, they can make it unqueſtionably appear, that, during the laſt and preſent war, the company's caſual loſſes, by frequent captures and otherways, have been upwards of 400,000 *l.* and that the ſmall dividends made among the adventurers, were, in effect, but in the nature of premiums and encouragements for contributing much larger ſums, from time to time, for upholding and carrying on the trade, and preſerving their forts and ſettlements, until a convenient opportunity ſhould offer for laying their grievances before the parliament. And if the company's ſtock be not now in ſo good a condition as were to be wiſhed, the many concurring reaſons already given, in the foregoing ſheets, do ſufficiently evince that the managers are not juſtly chargeable with the invidious imputation of having miſ-employed either their time or talent, but that the lowneſs of their ſtock is altogether owing to other ſupervenient cauſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Some reaſons humbly offered for committing the management of the African trade to the Royal African Company.

WHAT now remains to be conſidered is, in caſe the wiſdom of the parliament ſhall think fit to ſettle the trade to Africa (as it is hoped they will) upon the foot of a joint-ſtock, with excluſive privileges, who ſhould be the raiſers of that joint-ſtock, and be entruſted with the management of the trade.

No doubt, her Majeſty and both the houſes of parliament are the only judges who can beſt determine that matter; however, the moſt probable and equitable view thereof, which occurs at preſent, is, that the Royal African Company have already, by their petition to the honourable Houſe of Commons, ſignified their willingneſs to raiſe a ſtock ſufficient for the preſervation and improvement of that trade, in all the branches thereof, provided they be eſtabliſhed, by act of parliament, on the foot of ſome fixt conſtitution, ſuitable to the nature and circumſtances of that trade; and they have alſo, by their publick advertiſement in the Gazette, ſignified their willingneſs to admit all ſuch perſons as have a mind to become joint adventurers with them, by raiſing any part of the needful ſtock, upon equitable terms.

Now, in caſe there ſhould happen to be any competition in point of preference, as to the perſons to be entruſted with the management of that trade, upon the foot of an excluſive conſtitution,

I muſt own that, in my humble opinion, the Royal African Company has an equitable claim of preference in that matter, antecedent to that of any other pretender whatſoever. For,

I. When the African trade was in a manner wholly loſt to the nation, in the time of the laſt Dutch war, it is well known what pains were taken by the King and government, at that time, to perſuade people to ſubſcribe to a joint-ſtock, for the recovery, preſervation and improvement of that trade; and that, upon the publick faith of an excluſive charter, granted then to the preſent Royal African Company (which was, at that time, conceived to be an indubitable ſecurity) they were induced not only to raiſe the joint-ſtock then propoſed, but of courſe engaged likewiſe to contribute and launch out ſeveral vaſt additional ſums, from time to time, ever ſince, for the purchaſing, building, repairing and maintaining of forts, factories and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and for the preſervation and improvement of that trade; which, beyond all peradventure, neither they, nor any other ſet of men in the kingdom would have done, if they had then ſuſpected, in the leaſt, that others ſhould have the benefit of building upon the foundation which they laid.

II. Though charters under the Great Seal are not now looked upon as an unqueſtionable right, having all the ſolemnities requiſite by law, unleſs they be confirmed by act of parliament, yet certainly, when charters are granted for ſuch onerous cauſes and conſiderations as thoſe for which the Royal African Company's charter was granted, and eſpecially conſidering how far the granting thereof

thereof has been the means of involving the company in many difficulties, upon a national account, ſuch charters may, at leaſt, be reckoned an argument to move the Parliament to have an equitable regard to the company's circumſtances, and to give them an opportunity of recovering their loſſes, by preferring them to any other intruding pretender in the management of the trade to Africa, the preſervation of which to the nation has already coſt the company ſo dear.

III. By continuing the management of the trade to Africa in the hands of the Royal African Company, and ſuch others as ſhall think fit to join with them in the intended new ſtock, upon the foot of a fixed parliamentary conſtitution, the trade may be carried on to far greater advantages, in all reſpects whatſoever, than can reaſonably be expected from the hands of any other ſet of men in the kingdom, who were to begin upon a quite new foot; for the forts, factories and ſettlements which the company have already in their poſſeſſion, the ſtanding alliances which they have in force with the natives, the obſervation, knowledge and experience which they have of the nature and circumſtances of the trade, and of the moſt effectual methods of practiſing upon the natives, for counter-acting and defeating the deſigns of all foreign competitors in the trade of that coaſt, and their being, all along to this hour, in the courſe of a regular trade (though under the preſſure of many difficulties, occaſioned by ſupervenient and indirect cauſes) are advantages which, if yet to be procured and obtained, would doubtleſs be a very chargeable and difficult taſk to a much more capable ſet of men than thoſe who, at

this time, for their own ends, ſeem to ſlight thoſe advantages ſo much as they do.

IV. By the many advantages which the African trade did produce to the nation, during the ſhort time that the Royal African Company enjoyed the privilege of their charter excluſively, before the Revolution *, it is evident that they managed that trade with abundance of dexterity and application, with reſpect to a national intereſt; and therefore it may juſtly be ſuppoſed, that if they were once eſtabliſhed by a parliamentary conſtitution, and were again encouraged and protected by the government, they would ſtill extend their acquiſitions and improvements in that trade, to the general intereſt and ſatisfaction of the nation; yea, the very journals and records of the company may be of greater uſe to them, in their deliberations about the taking ſuitable meaſures, upon ſeveral occaſions which may happen in the proſecution of their deſigns, than ſome people can readily imagine.

And if it ſhould be pretended that the ſeparate traders have acquired abundance of knowledge and experience in that trade, ſince the ſame has been laid open, I have ſome ground to believe that the greateſt part of this their boaſted knowledge and experience in the African trade (ſuch as it is) is derived chiefly from ſome deſerters, who have been debauched and ſeduced out of the company's ſervice; and how far the veracity, probity or integrity of ſuch perſons ought to be relied on, I leave the reader to judge.

* Vide Page 88.

Advertiſement to the READER.

THOUGH the points of fact charged in theſe Reflections, either on the agents of the Dutch company, or the Engliſh ſeparate traders, on the coaſt of Africa, do generally carry their proofs along with them, yet, if it be found that the verity of ſuch of them as are material will be queſtioned (which it is thought they will not) then the particular vouchers of theſe, together with ſome further conſiderations thereupon, ſhall be printed apart, in an Appendix to theſe Reflections.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa,

THROUGH

The whole Courſe and Progreſs thereof, from the Beginning of the laſt Century, to this Time.

WHEREIN

The Nature and uncommon Circumſtances of that TRADE are particularly conſidered, and all the Arguments urged alternately by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now propoſed by them, for carrying on the ſame to a national Advantage, impartially ſtated and conſidered.

BY ALL WHICH

A clear View is given of ſuch a Conſtitution, as (if eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament) would, in all Probability, render the AFRICAN Trade a permanent, creditable and advantageous Trade to BRITAIN.

PART II.

Senec. Herc. furens.

Quod quiſque facit patitur, auctorem ſcelus repetit, ſuoque premitur exemplo, nocens.

PREFACE.

WHOEVER adventures to write againſt any party, eſpecially ſuch a clamorous one as I have entered the liſts with, had need be previouſly well aſſured, that he has a great deal of reaſon and juſtice on his ſide. For my part, I ſolemnly profeſs, that (according to the beſt of my judgment) I am fully perſuaded that I have a very tenable and juſtifiable argument on the ſide which I have choſen, if it do not happen to miſcarry in my hands, for not having a better advocate to manage it; however, I ſhall be well ſatisfied if the following ſheets meet with no worſe reception, in the opinion of judicious readers, than my firſt eſſay upon this ſubject has already met with; which indeed gave me the greater aſſurance to make this ſecond attempt, for their farther ſatisfaction.

I deſigned indeed to have ſubjoined particular reflections to each of the extracts which compoſe the three firſt chapters, according to their reſpective numbers upon the margin; but the truth is, the matter here treated of being likely to fall under the conſideration of the honourable Houſe of Commons on Friday next, and this being chiefly deſigned for their previous information, it is with ſome difficulty that theſe extracts themſelves could be tolerably methodized, tranſcribed and printed (even in ſuch manner as they are) within the compaſs of eight days time, eſpecially when the ſeaſon is ſo very unfavourable for print-

ing; ſo that, if the work be not ſo compleat as I could have wiſh'd to have had it, it is not for want of matter, but of time.

I muſt own likewiſe, that the ſeveral points now controverted, in relation to the trade to Africa, are ſo very fully and particularly touched (though in an interſperſed manner) in the aforeſaid extracts, if jointly conſidered, that there ſeems to be but little room left for a commentator, except only for the ſake of illuſtration, and to render the ſubject-matter more agreeable to the reader.

The contents of the fourth chapter are founded partly upon letters of advice from the coaſt of Africa, and partly upon the living teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons come from thence, who are now here in this city, ready to juſtify the ſame.

Leſt any perſon who reads the following ſheets ſhould happen to be ſo far a ſceptick as to queſtion the authenticknes of the ſeveral extracts therein contained, I hereby aſſure him, that the originals thereof, with many more of the ſame kind, may be ſeen at the Royal African Company's houſe, and that, for my own ſatisfaction, I have now lying by me duplicates of theſe, atteſted, ſome by the company's ſecretary, and ſome by two of his clerks.

I deſigned (for the reader's more diſtinct view) to have made marginal abbreviations to this ſecond part likewiſe, but time would not permit.

RE-

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Conſtitution and Management

OF THE

AFRICAN TRADE, &c.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are ſome people in the world, who, from a miſtaken notion of honour, think themſelves obliged to juſtify and maintain whatever they happen once to aſſert dogmatically, in any publick manner, though never ſo ill-grounded, as if, forſooth, we were of ourſelves ſo infallible in our conceptions and judgments of things, that we could not be impoſed upon, either by miſ-information or otherways; and the worſt of it is, that people of that tenacious temper are commonly ſo full of reſentment againſt the authors of any concluding and pointed argu-

ment, touching their own beloved poſitions, that a man who writes his mind freely and ſincerely, in relation to any publick and national affairs, very often runs the hazard of offending perſons, againſt whom he may be ſo far from having any perſonal prejudice, that poſſibly, on the contrary, he may honour and regard them very much, in all other reſpects whatſoever.

Without any regard to the particular diſpute between the Royal African Company and the ſeparate traders, concerning their ſeveral and reſpective private intereſts, I firſt of all reaſoned myſelf into an opinion, that the trade to Africa could not be carried on ſecurely, creditably, and advantageouſly, for the common intereſt of Britain, and the plantations thereunto belonging, by any other method than that of an excluſive joint-ſtock company; and in purſuing that argument, and ſearching for proper materials to maintain and ſupport it, I could not forbear making thoſe natural obſervations on the uſage which the Royal African Company met with, both at home and abroad, in the progreſs of their trade, theſe 20 years paſt, which of courſe (I own) wrought upon my inclinations ſo far, as to become, in ſome meaſure, a partizan for them.

However, I have, in the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections, ſtudiouſly avoided mentioning the particular names and deſignations of ſuch private traders, or others, as have been the immediate inſtruments of injuring the company's intereſt, either abroad or at home, hoping to have, by reaſonable arguments, reclaimed them from perſevering in either the commiſſion or juſtification of ſuch practices as are there pointed at.

But underſtanding that the ſeparate traders have, ſince the publiſhing of that treatiſe, exerted their

utmoſt endeavours to diſcredit (as much as they can) the verity of the ſeveral matters of fact therein narrated, with relation to either the agents of the Dutch Weſt-India Company, the ſeparate traders, or the natives of the coaſt of Africa reſpectively, theſe gentlemen muſt blame themſelves, if, contrary to my inclination, they extort from me now a particular condeſcendance on the names and deſignations of ſome of their own number, who have committed the ſeveral groſs frauds and abuſes complained of as aforeſaid, together with the aggravating circumſtances thereof, with reſpect to time and place: and in ſo doing, I have the joint authority of many eminent divines on my ſide, "That too much lenity or indulgence to the committers of iniquity, is oftentimes cruelty to the innocent and oppreſſed."

I could eaſily have ſwelled the following ſheets to a great bulk, if I would look back ſo far as to recite all the inſtances which, I find, the company could give of abuſes committed againſt them, by interlopers and the agents of foreign competitors in the progreſs of their trade, before the ſame was, in the year 1697, laid open by act of parliament; ſo I have therefore confined myſelf, upon this occaſion, to ſuch as have been committed againſt them ſince that time only. Nor, upon due conſideration, can it well be ſuppoſed, that even the tenth part of theſe abuſes, which have, at any time, been committed by private traders, in ſo extended and remote a part of the world as the coaſt of Africa is, could have come to the company's knowledge, and much leſs to mine: ſo that the following inſtances may juſtly be reckoned as only ſome of many more of the ſame kind, which, upon further enquiry, may happen to be diſcovered in progreſs of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Some extracts of ſuch written teſtimonies as have been tranſmitted to the Royal African Company, concerning ſeveral abuſes committed by the ſeparate traders at or near the River Gambia, on the north coaſt of Africa.

York-Iſland, in the River Sherbrow,
January the 17th, 1697-8.

I. " MEmorandum, that on the 9th day of " this inſtant, the ſhip New-London, " Mr. Robert Ford commander, and the ſhip " Empreſs, Mr. Henry Pittman commander, " came both into the ſaid river.

" The ſhip Empreſs came within a league of " our factory, and there anchored. Captain Ford, " with his ſhip the New-London, came only to " Bob-Iſland, and not farther up; however, he " went in his boat up to Matthew Skinner's, the " chief wood-factor here, and ſtaid three days: " at his return he ſtopt here, aſked how we all " did, and ſo went on board the ſhip Empreſs, " and then on board his own ſhip the New-London, where, upon his arrival, he and his company combined together, and ſeized and ſecured " to the number of 16 men, natives of the country, and put them in irons, with an intent to " carry them into the Weſt-Indies; moreover, " they killed two other men, which ſo incenſed " the whole country, that ſeveral hundreds of " people flocked and bodied on this factory, with " an intent to cut us all off; ſo that we, being in " jeopardy of our lives, were forced to take to

" the great houſe, and every man to ſtand to his " arms in his own defence. Some then on board " negotiating for us, were taken, and put us alſo " to the log for a time: and all this occaſioned " by the aforeſaid Captain Ford, who himſelf not " only ſeized our Blacks, but the Blacks, for his " default, ſeized and ſecured our white men. " In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our " hands,

Henry Pittman.
Richard Lilly.
Urian Pulford.

" We, who have hereunto ſubſcribed, atteſt " this to be a true copy of an original now before " us,

Maurice Matthews, Clerk.
Thomas Williams.
Robert Beere.
John Bridgman.
Humphrey Lowe.

Bence-Iſland, in the River Sierra-Leon,
25th March, 1698.

II. " THESE are to certify the Royal African " Company of England, or whom it " may concern, that I Robert Ford, Maſter of " the ſhip London, with others belonging to the " ſaid ſhip, affirm, that one Charles Eaton, in the " ſhip called the Poſtilion, did go up the River " Sherbrow with the ſaid ſhip, and took from one " of the Royal Company's factories there a great " quantity of cam-wood, without weighing it, " and loaded aboard the ſaid Poſtilion, receiving " the ſaid wood from a perſon who in no wiſe had " any charge of it: moreover at the ſame time

" ſcan-

" ſcandalouſly gave out, that the ſaid Royal " African Company were become bankrupts, and " did much incenſe the country people againſt " their ſervants, adviſing them to ſeize on their " effects there.

" We, who have hereunto ſubſcribed, are ready " to take oath, when thereunto called, that the " ſaid Charles Eaton did verbally tell us ſo, and " Matthew Skinner alſo, an inhabitant in the " place, did inform us the ſame,

Robert Ford, commander.
Charles Senſkall, chir.
John Booth, gunner.

" We, who have hereunto ſubſcribed, do atteſt " this to be a true copy of an original now be- " fore us,

Maurice Matthew, clerk.
Thomas Williams.
Robert Beere.
John Bridgman.
Humphrey Lowe.

III. " THESE are to certify the Royal African " Company of England, or whom it " may concern, that upon the return of Thomas " Cocker (agent for the ſaid Royal African Com- " pany) to Sherbrow, from his voyage to the " Northward, he found all the cam-wood, and " other merchandizes, which were purchaſed by " your factors at Kiddam, deceitfully taken, or " rather ſtolen off our factory, by Charles Eaton, " interloper; on which occaſion the ſaid Thomas " Cocker was forced to proceed for the purchaſing " others. When he arrived at the King's town, " there was no liberty to be granted for his pro- " ceeding

" ceeding for the river of Kiddam, without going " aſhore to make a cry (as they term it) for the " old King's anſwer was made, that the time would " not permit of ſo long tarrying there, but at his " return would ſatisfy them in all points. All " this is not availing any thing; but after a delay " of ſeven or eight days there, he was forced to " go aſhore to diſcourſe with the King, with all " the men in arms that then accompanied him, " where, after a ſmall debate, with about 150 * " bars charges, and the ſtoppage of two negroes, " got liberty to paſs: all this being upon, or " occaſioned by the ſcandalous and villainous " reports of that baſe treacherous fellow, the very " ſcum of mankind (Eaton.) Thus we proceeded " for the river of Kiddam, where we found the " ſame game played there as was below, the " people being very inſolent. About 20 days " after our arrival there we got ſight of the King, " with whom we had 10 days pallabras (or treaty) " with an addition of 200 † bars expence, before " liberty to trade was granted, and then, with our " arms in our hands, after our negotiating was " completed, we made what diſpatch we could " for this place, but, contrary to all expectation, " found all things in great diſorder, the new King " having ſet up his purrow (as they call it) or " proclamation, that we ſhould have no trade " with his people for country-proviſions, or any " other commodities. Whereupon the ſaid Tho- " mas Cocker ſent for the King to demand the " reaſons of all this diſturbance. His anſwer was, " That he could not venture his body without a " barge; whereupon the meſſenger was diſpatched " away with the great barge to fetch him: but " that was only a pretence to delay time, to call " the

* 150 bars is 45 l. ſterling. † 200 bars, or 60 l. ſterling.

" the whole people of his country together, as " we found afterwards. Upon his arrival at the " factory, he brought not above 120 men with " him, or thereabouts, but before he was 24 hours " here, above 5 or 600 of them landed upon our " iſland. This unexpected ſight, or rather mi- " racle, put us upon making the beſt defence we " could for ourſelves, having had ſome little ſur- " miſe before of their intentions (which was to cut " us all off) but they finding we were provided " for them, before they could accompliſh their " deſigns, and after a vaſt expence of 500* bars " more, it was brought to a palabra (or treaty of " agreement) the whole diſcourſe depending upon " Charles Eaton, as aforeſaid, his giving out re- " ports of your honours being threatened to be " put in Newgate, for begging leave of the Par- " liament to ſell your factories to the French, and " deducting two-thirds of your ſervants wages to " help to ſuſtain the loſs you have had in the late " war, thereby to diſhearten them to ſerve you, " which in ſome meaſure took effect; for he, " uſing thoſe methods, perſuaded three of your " ſervants, then out of this factory, to deſert your " ſervice, and enter into his own, namely, John " Howard, Caleb White, and John Kemp: a great " encouragement for the country people to do " what he had formerly prompted them to. Fur- " ther, he particularly mentioned Mr. Urban Hall, " ſaying he was laughed or hooted out of the " Parliament-houſe, when he was there upon the " Royal African Company's buſineſs. A ſecond " part of it was the taking hold of their people, " and killing others upon pretended debts, as it " was termed by Capt. Robert Ford, commander " of the New-London interloper. For all theſe " and

* 500 bars, or 150 l. ſterling.

" and other circumſtances relating to this matter " (all occaſioned by the aforementioned perſons) " they ſtill demand ſatisfaction, as appears by " tarras (or tallies) that the King left upon the " factory for above 400 * bars more.

" We, who have hereunto ſubſcribed, are " ready to atteſt what is herein upon oath, when " thereunto called, as witneſs our hands this 29th " of July 1698,

Richard Bridgman.
Robert Davis.
William Bridgman.
John Bridgman.
Stephen Jackſon.
John Prowde.
Robert Loadman.
Gawin Lithgow.
John Bull.

" We, who have hereunto ſubſcribed, do at- " teſt this to be a true copy of an original now " before us,

Maurice Mathew, clerk.
Thomas Williams.
Robert Beere.
John Bridgman.
Humphrey Lowe.

GAMBIA. Paragraph of a letter from Meſſrs. Nathan Piles, Thomas Rayner, and Richard Oakley, dated 4 March 1700.

IV. " THE whole trade of the river is in the " hands of the ten per cent. ſhips, who " are here at preſent, ſeven in number, ſome from " Carolina, and the reſt from England, who daily " encreaſe

* 400 bars, or 120l. ſterling.

" encreaſe the price of ſlaves in this river, which " is very prejudicial to your intereſt. Before Mr. " Greſham's deceaſe, our factory at Joally was " inſulted by the King, who ſeized 7 or 800 * bars " cargo, upon account of one ſlave taken away " from him unpaid for, by one Captain Smith, a " ten per cent. ſhip trading in this port, and then " bound to the river for further trade; which " ſlave being afterwards returned by Mr. Greſham, " yet denied the return of our goods: ſo that we " ſtand in fear of ſettling a factory there, which is " a conſiderable loſs to your honours, it being " the chiefeſt ſupport to the fort we had here- " abouts."

SIERRA-LEON. Mr. Henry Greenway, in a poſt-ſcript to his letter of 4 April 1702, writes, viz.

V. " I Suppoſe I need not enlarge of the King's " intentions on you at Sherbrow, believing " Mr. Barker has done it to the full to you, he " knowing him better than I do; but I perceive, " by ſeveral ſymptoms, that he has no good in- " tent toward Engliſhmen, he having got five " ſmall guns mounted, and hath made ſome ten " per cent. men promiſe to bring him more next " year, otherwiſe he tells them they ſhall have no " wood; by which guns he may command the " paſſage up the river."

Extract of a letter from John Freeman, late agent for the Royal African Company at Sierra-Leon, to his wife, which came accidentally to the company's hands.

VI. " MR. Peregrine Brown, in Crutched-Friars, is a principal man; Mr. " Goodwin, the ſcrivener in Change-alley, and " (I

* 218, or 240 l. ſterling.

" (I underſtand) Mr. More, a Diſtiller, and part-
" ner with one Tanner, a Quaker, on St. Mary-
" hill, trade to theſe parts. They muſt be talked
" with with great caution, and, above all, not be
" ſhewn the invoice of goods in demand here, till
" they have conſigned a ſhip to us."

VII. " JOſeph Sparpin, late quarter-maſter of
" the Olive-Tree, now ſecond mate of
" the Bridgwater, depoſeth, that in January 1704-5,
" he came into the river Gambia in the Olive-tree,
" and about three or four days after their arrival
" (and before Mr. Crookſhank the ſupercargo had
" diſpoſed of any goods) he, the ſaid Crookſhank,
" ſent the chief mate and this deponent, with a
" long-boat without goods, but only a letter from
" Mr. Chidley to Charles Man, then at Anchor-
" wall, and of him they received 174 teeth,
" which weighed 4278 pounds, by virtue of that
" letter, which teeth were brought on board the
" Olive-tree, and there marked C+B, and about
" three or four days after ſent by Crookſhank on
" board the Haſtings man of war. And he fur-
" ther ſaith, that before the Olive-tree weighed to
" go to Joar, Mr. Chidley ſent on board the
" Olive-tree his pinnace, twice loaded with teeth,
" which Crookſhank received, and marked as be-
" fore, and then ſent Chidley two hogſheads full
" of bottles of ale, and other things. Whilſt
" Crookſhank was at Joar, Chidley came in there
" in his pinnace to viſit him, and they were (as
" much as poſſibly they could be) together.

Jurat' 9 April 1706. Joſeph Sharpin.
John Pery.

GAMBIA. 21 October 1706. Capt. John Tozer writes, viz.

VIII. "MR. Chidley (as I am informed) took "his departure the 22d of June laſt, "in the Olive-tree (a ten per cent. ſhip) for Vir- "ginia, with conſiderable effects, but to what "value is not exactly known."

Memorandum, That the Royal African Company have ſeveral letters from Mr. John Snow, agent at Gambia, Capt. Charles Cook, and Colonel Gawin Corbin of Virginia, containing long narratives of many groſs frauds and abuſes committed by ditto Chidley, while he was in the company's ſervice at Gambia, but are (for brevity's ſake) omitted here till further occaſion.

SHERBROW. Meſſieurs Henry Glynn and Henry Gadbury, in a poſtſcript to their letter of 26 April 1707, write, viz.

IX. "CApt. Gordon brings us news, that "your treaſurer is run away with all "your money, and that you are not able to ſend "us any more ſhips, which very much diſheartens "our people. One John Maſon, on that news, "has left your ſervice, and entered on board "Gordon, who pretends to have a commiſſion to "carry home any ſubject of England that deſires "it. One John Wenham, a writer, and a very "ſerviceable man, to whom the charge of the "teeth ſent to Sierra-Leon was given, meeting "ſome country people on board Gordon, who "were indebted to your honours for ſome ſlaves, "and acquainting them that he had orders to de-

"mand

" mand them, cauſed ſome quarrelling amongſt
" them; on which one of them, by name Lewis
" Corba, promiſed to do his buſineſs (as our Gro-
" mettos who were ſent on board inform us) and
" he was as good as his word, for the man died
" next morning, in leſs than three hours after he
" left the ſhip; and, by the manner of his dying
" it is judged he was poiſoned, for he drank much
" water, and his nails turned black and came off,
" and his belly burſt."

Paragraph of a letter from Mr. John Clark, dated York-Iſland, in the river Sherbrow, 26 April 1707.

X. " MR. Freeman took his departure from
" this place the 27th of Oct. laſt. Mr.
" Glynn carried (of your honours effects) with
" him, when the ſhip was going, nine good men-
" ſlaves, and a ſloop-load of cam-wood, and 20
" large elephants teeth."

Memorandum, He went in the Raper-Galley commanded by Capt. Bonham, a private trader.

Another paragraph of the ſame letter.

" THE advice I had about Mr. Freeman's
" carrying away your honours cam-wood
" and ſlaves, was from Charles Gardiner, a 10 per
" cent. factor, who alſo told me, that Mr. Free-
" man and he made a contract to carry on a ſepa-
" rate trade, and that your ſloop was his, and
" Gardiner was to have the half of her. I can
" make it appear by the books, that the ſloop
" ſtands you in 372 bars, beſides workmanſhip."

Paragraph of a letter from agent John Clark, dated at Sherbrow 24 May 1708.

" THE 12th of February laſt arrived Mr. John " Freeman, in a 10 per cent. ſhip, the " John, Capt. Richard Shoebrick commander. " Mr. Freeman has endeavoured all he can to " diſcourage your honours ſervants in theſe parts, " and withal to withdraw them for his own uſe."

From ditto, dated 30 June 1708.

" FREEMAN has ſtrictly charged all his people " not to carry any letter or any account for " me. Freeman has certainly carried off all the " flag-ſtones and bricks of Bence-Iſland, and " would have carried the guns off, but had not " ſtrength, telling his people he would pay him- " ſelf. I deſign to take them from him ſpeedily."

Ditto.

" FREEMAN has paid him (the King of " Sherbrow) 100 bars more than I did at the " arrival of the Greyhound. The King ſwears, " that at the arrival of every ſhip of your honours " he will have the ſame, elſe I ſhall not paſs the " river."

Ditto.

" WHEN Capt. Tozer arrived (as is uſual) " I ſent a white man with Gromettos to " invite him (the King of Sherbrow) to the iſland, " and receive his cole: what money I ſent him he " received, and panyared the white man and one " of the Gromettos, whom he ſtill keeps in cuſto- " dy, and can give no reaſon for it, only nonſenſe " which that Freeman infuſed in him."

I ſhall conclude this chapter (reſerving my reflections on the contents thereof till another occaſion) with what I happened to learn in a converſation which I had ſome few days ago with a very intelligent perſon, who lived a conſiderable time at Gambia.

He declared that, in the year 1702, five private ſhips being in the river of Gambia at once, gave from 20 to 23 bars per head for negroes, more than the company's ſervants gave before the arrival of theſe ſhips, and that they lowered the price of Engliſh goods one third.

That Captain Rhett, Captain Tudor, Captain Forty, and Captain Beckford, all private traders, traded with the company's ſervants, eſpecially Captain Beckford, by whoſe perſuaſion and contrivance goods belonging to the company were carried off, to the value of 5000l. and upwards.

That the natives have ſeveral times attempted to ſeize on veſſels belonging to the company and private traders.

That where the company have ſmall factories up the river, without any fortification or force to protect them, the ſame are ſubject to ſeizures at the pleaſure of the Kings there, even though they knew that the company's ſervants would make reprizal.

That the natives know very well, that when ſhips are part-ſlaved, the purchaſers muſt give any rate for the remainder of their reſpective complements, rather than endanger the loſs of the reſt, and that therefore the natives do impoſe upon them accordingly. And

That, in his opinion, the trade to that coaſt can never be carried on effectually without forts, or otherwiſe than by a joint-ſtock; and that,

if required, he would declare and certify the truth of all the aforeſaid particulars to the parliament.

CHAP. II.

Extracts of ſeveral written teſtimonies and advices ſent to the Royal African Company, concerning the conduct and practices of the ſeparate traders on the Gold-Coaſt.

From Cape-Coaſt Caſtle, the 28th of May 1698, Meſſrs. Nicholas Buckeridge, William Cooper and John Brown, write, viz.

I. "YOU will perceive what damage interlopers do, as well on this coaſt as at "Whidah, lowering the prices of all European "goods, and advancing the price of ſlaves. If "ſome ſpeedy remedy be not applied, we muſt "be forced to lower our goods, otherwiſe no "traders will come near us: the Dutch have already lowered their perpets to 9ac, and talk of "taking off another angle; but as theirs are inferior to ours, we keep ours at 10ac, at which "price, if interlopers be kept off, doubt not but "ſhall vend conſiderable quantities. There is "not a Negroe upon the coaſt will vend a ſlave "now for ſix or ſeven pieces per head (a piece is "20 ſhillings) ſo that we are forced to advance "another piece."

From Meſſieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, Howſley Freeman, and Samuel Wallis, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 16th of April 1699.

II. "IT is to be feared Captain Bags will make "a long ſtay upon this coaſt before he "vends his cargo, trade being very dull, and "many ſhips in theſe parts, who rather give their "goods away than ſell them, diſpoſing perpets "for ſix angles."

From Captain Matthew Wilſon, of the Company's ſhip Edward and William, dated King's-Town, Whidah, the 26th of June 1699.

III. "WE arrived the 31ſt of May, having "purchaſed 215 Negroes. The car-"go, with what has been diſpoſed of on the Gold-"Coaſt, will fall very ſhort of our complement, "the King playing tricks with us, as likewiſe "with the other ſhips that are here. When we "came to pay him, he raiſed his price from his "firſt agreement, being grown very haughty and "proud ſince Whidah has been attended with ſo "many ſhips."

From Meſſieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, Howſley Freeman and Samuel Wallis, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 5th of March 1699.

IV. "WITH ſubmiſſion to your honours, it "is no wonder the 10 per cent. men "make voyages, when at the ſame time we have "little or no buſineſs, which is cuſtomary in all "parts of the world where ſhips reſort to, unleſs "their cargoes are conſigned to ſome factor, or

" others on ſhore; for the natives and inhabitants " will never come to a factory or ſhop to lay out " their money, when they can buy goods 30 per " cent. cheaper on board a ſhip than can be af- " forded in either of the former. The 10 per cent. " men, for the moſt part, ſold perpets at ſix " ackeys each, and ſo proportionably the reſt of " their merchandize."

From Mr. Gabb (a ſhort time ſurveyor) dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 15th of September 1700.

V. " MR. Edward Barter is allowed to do " what he pleaſes, for he fetched a- " ſhore, and ſecured in his houſe, all ſuch goods " by night as they (writing of the then chief fac- " tors) are aſhamed to let others ſee, and have " oftentimes of late 1500 or 2000 pounds worth " of goods of all ſorts vendible here."

From Mr. Thomas Peck, dated James-Fort, Accra, the 30th of June 1701.

VI. " AS to ſlaves, the 10 per cent. men are " my only interrupters in acquiring " any, they giving ſix or eight angles more than " your honours allow, which has been the real " occaſion that ſo many ſlaves have been ſhipped " from Annamaboe."

From Meſſieurs Howſley Freeman, Thomas Peck and William Hicks, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 6th of November 1701.

VII. " ON the 4th of September, being Sun- " day, the Blacks in a tumultuous " manner approached towards the caſtle (of An- " namaboe) broke open the outer ſpur-gate, and " ſet

" ſet fire to our out-walls and corn-room, firing " alſo at the caſtle; but, by firing the great guns, " they ſoon quitted their ground, and falſe pre- " tenſions too: in requital that night, from the " caſtle, we burnt the major part of the town. " This continued for 22 days, at which time they " requeſted a truce, and that they would compoſe " theſe matters to our deſires, the King of Saboe " being come there for that intent; the which we " granted. They objected againſt nothing that " we propoſed to them, and for their fidelity they " took fetiſhes (that is their oaths) according to " the cuſtom of the country, rendering up their " own ſons alſo, as pawns for their better per- " formance of this agreement, and payment of " the damage done to your honours fort; but " ſince, by the encouragement of the 10 per cent. " men (Captain Benſon, in a ſhip, the Amity, " from London, giving them then all the aſ- " ſiſtance he could, which we hope your honours " will take notice of) they begin to play the old " game again, not regarding any agreement ever " made with them."

From Captain Bernard Ladman, of the Spaniſh Merchant, dated Commenda the 7th of February 1701-2.

VIII. " AS for trade, I have met with very " little, the Blacks being afraid to " come aboard Engliſh ſhips, they having been " tricked by ſeveral, particularly of late by Capt. " James Francis, in the Sarah-galley, Captain " Bond in a brigantine, and two Captain Bills, " in ſloops belonging to Jamaica and Barbadoes, " who, about the 19th of December laſt, did " ſurprize and carry away with them 24 Negroes,

" belonging

" belonging to Drewin, with 16 cows and a great " parcel of teeth, as they came aboard to trade: " ſome were redeemed, but had three for one. " The ſame method they take all along the coaſt. " If there be not care taken to prevent ſuch vil- " lainies, our Engliſh colours will be of no uſe to " us, for the Negroes ſtudy revenge, and are re- " ſolved to ſeize upon what they can. Accordingly " on the 27th of Dec. Capt. Daniel Lowis, of " the Dolphin ſloop belonging to London, being " at anchor off of Drewin to trade, great numbers " of Negroes came to trade, and ſurprized them " all, took all that was in the veſſel and run her " aſhore, where ſhe ſtaved in pieces. The mate " and boatſwain eſcaped in the boat, but the com- " mander and the reſt of his men they drove up " into the country; but ſince they are more mo- " derate to them, and have admitted of an ex- " change for the captain and his cook, having ſix " negroes for themſelves. The doctor is likewiſe " cleared, by reaſon they had cut his head, and " could not tell what to do with him. Captain " Lowis is now aboard of me, and gives me this " account; but the reſt of the men are ſtill at " Drewin."

From Meſſieurs Howſley Freeman, William Hicks and Peter Dowſe, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 5th of February 1702-3.

IX. " WE are apt to believe that ſeveral " veſſels come to theſe parts without " paying their duty, and paſs by us here; for, " about a fortnight ſince, paſt by one Capt. Bains, " in a large veſſel from Liverpool. We ſent a " canoe on board, with a white man, to examine " his clearances, which he refuſed to produce, " and

" and would never come near any of your ho-
" nours forts, going always under the protection
" of the Dutch; which we hope your honours
" will take notice of."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle the 23d of May 1704.

X. " SOME few days before * Mr. Gabb died,
" he delivered to Captain Charles Martin,
" commander of the Ann Bonadventure, two large
" bulſes of gold, in the preſence of one Mollata
" Quaſhee, Mr. Gabb's boy, ſo called, though
" 25 or 30 years of age, and declared the ſame to
" Mr. Brown there, and to me here; and though
" he could not tell the weights, he could ſhew
" the weights, and ſhewed them to him there,
" and to me here; for he weighed them, and
" thoſe weights which he ſhewed there, and here,
" were 12 † marks and 4 ounces, and ſaid it was
" good Arcania gold. He himſelf put it up, and
" alſo took a bulſe of your gold, put it up to be
" ſent hither as the balance of his late month's
" account, and put it among that which was deli-
" vered to Capt. Martin. Capt. Martin would
" never own that he had any gold of Gabb, till
" he ſaw it ſo well proved, and then told Mr.
" Brown there that he had ſome, but would not
" tell how much, nor to whom to be delivered."

From Ditto.

XI. " I Have diſcourſed Capt. Martin ſeveral
" times of this affair, and I could bring
" him to own nothing more than as before: he
" would be fair in words, and would ſay he could
" do

* Mr. Gabb was chief of the Company's fort at Annamaboe.
† A mark is eight ounces.

" do any thing I could aſk him to do, ſo as to " preſerve his honour. I told him, his honour " was to do juſtice to thoſe to whom the gold did " belong; that Capt. Gabb was the Company's " ſervant, and was much in their debt; that he " (the ſaid Capt. Martin) had the very gold which " was put up by Gabb for the Company, and all " the gold too which he had taken ſince for the " Company; for here was no Arcania gold left, " and all that he had ſince the laſt month, as well " as the laſt month's balance, was to help to make " up that gold, if it did not make it all up, for " he had ſold a great deal of goods, and all that " he had taken for them was Arcania gold, he " being to take no other, and that his honour was " concerned, as if he had been entruſted by a " pick-pocket, highwayman, or one that robbed " his maſter, which he muſt not diſcover leſt an " honeſt man ſhould come to his own; and that " I thought, if this had been done in England, " he was indictable for receiving and concealing " of ſtolen goods, or for abetting, aiding and " aſſiſting the thief, the villain, or the cheat, for " I could term it no otherways. All that I could " get from him was, that that was more than he " knew, and that it was lawful for him to take " any thing upon freight. I told him this place " differed from other places; that none of the " Company's ſervants here were allowed to trade " but for the Company; and that they could call " no gold their own. He ſaid he had carried " many a ſcore marks of gold from the Company's " ſervants, and hoped he ſhould carry many more " ſcore marks of gold for them. I told him, that " the Company have been robbed of many a ſcore " marks of gold, and as he had aſſiſted their ſer- " vants to cheat the Company, ſo he hoped to go

" on

" on with them in their cheating, and therefore " would not do the fair thing now, leſt he ſhould " not be entruſted again by the villains he ſhould " find or make here."

From Ditto.

" AFTER theſe, this affair was argued " yeſterday on board Capt. Aſh, where was " Capt. Martin and Capt. Ingle, all 10 per cent. " men now in this Road, and there was argued " with the reaſonableneſs of what I propoſed to " Capt. Martin, which was, that he ſhould name " the quantity of gold he had, and give obliga- " tion to deliver the gold to you, you indemnify- " ing him from all demands whatſoever. It was " not to be debated; Aſh would not do it for a " thouſand pounds, and ſo it went, nemine con- " tradicente, not to be done. This is their Diana; " for if the power of helping your factors to cheat " you be taken away (which they are afraid would " in a great meaſure be taken away, if men once " told the ill your ſervants did) the captains " would be undone; and if you cannot have a law " to prevent it, I am ſure (gentlemen) you will, " as to your ſtock in the African trade, be undone, " for I will defy the honeſteſt, wiſeſt and care- " fulleſt man here, ever to have your people ho- " neſt, while ſo many ſeducers are tempting your " ſervants, and putting them in the way to wrong " you, as is evident not a 10 per cent. captain " but does. They will not allow it wronging, to " bring the gold from your people, nor ſelling " them goods for gold, though they are well aſ- " ſured that your ſervants are not worth a cra-cra " (or farthing) of their own, and know that they " are bound by oaths and obligations not to trade,

" directly

" directly or indirectly, but to and for your " account only. I ſhould not think it hard to " obtain a law to oblige people to perform their " voluntary agreements, if reaſonable, and agreed " to by men of age and diſcretion, at the time of " their agreeing to it (if ever they will have diſcre- " tion) and to prevent the ſeducers from tempting " them."

From Ditto.

XI. " I Am ſenſible that the Weſt-India colonies " (I mean the iſlands and Virginia) are " very valuable to England, and their true intereſt " ought duly to be conſidered, and that nothing " be done to their prejudice. It is certainly their " true intereſt to have Negroes beſt in their kind, " healthy, ſtrong, and cheapeſt: the way they are " now ſerved is not the way demonſtrably. For- " merly as good Negroes were bought on this " coaſt for £. 3, and £. 3 10s. as now coſt £. 11, " and in ſome few years, in this way of trading, " will (I believe) come to £. 15, for the more " different buyers there are, the dearer they will " be made, as appears evidently by their yearly " increaſing in price, as they have done for theſe " ſeveral years paſt, by having ſo many buyers, " all in haſte to be gone from hence; and by their " under-ſelling and out-bidding one another, they " keep each the other as long, if not longer, than " if the prices of goods were kept up, and the " prices of Negroes kept down: and if the diffe- " rent prices of goods in former days, compared " to what they are ſold at now, were added to the " price of Negroes now given, I believe every " good Negro is now worth £. 15; and who muſt " pay thoſe prices? The colonies certainly. " Therefore it is a demonſtration they ſuffer by " this method." From

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 29 Oct. 1704.

XII. "MR. Dudley was removed before my "time, and the account of his crimes "ſent you by Mr. Brown, Major and Willis; but "what I learn is, viz.

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
He ſold in Jan. 1702 —	7	2	2	1
In March 1702-3 —	4	2	0	2
In May, June and July, 1703	9	5	1	3
In Sept. Oct. and Nov.	23	7	6	2
	43	16	9	8
	16			
	9			
	8			

In all 76 ſlaves.

And of theſe he ſold to ſundry perſons, as I am informed, viz.

To Captain Francis Morgan — —	2
To Captain Rogers — — — —	5
To a private trader ſent to Dickes-cove	4
To ditto at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle — —	3
To Captain Impin — — — —	14
To Captain Gill — — — —	7
To Captain Normanton — — —	13
To Captain Maxwell — — —	1
To Emanuel de Sylva, at Commenda	1
To Captain Codnor — — — —	2
	52
The remainder not known to whom diſpoſed of — — — — —	24
	76 ſlaves.

From

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 14 Jan. 1704.

XII. "THE Rooke-galley, and your Davers-galley, are ſtill at Annamaboe, purchaſing their ſlaves, and as yet met but with very indifferent ſucceſs, the firſt having purchaſed only 60, and the latter 28 Negroes. The 10 per cent. men who are there, ſpoil the markets extremely, by out-bidding us all at once, by which means they began to out-do your ſhips in buying, until that I, being adviſed thereof, ordered your factors and captains to give as much for a Negro, and ſell your goods as cheap as they; for I am reſolved not to hold the candle to them any longer, as was done by my predeceſſors, let the conſequence be as it will. You have been ſufferers in the trade enough by that already, and ſince one or other muſt unavoidably be done, I think that buying and ſelling at or near their price is the better of the two; for, conſidering the expence you are at upon the coaſt, it is better to trade at any rate, than not at all."

From John Smith, dated at Annamaboe, 6 Feb. 1704.

XIII. "SINCE I came hither, I have done as much as poſſible to oblige the natives, and increaſe as well as maintain your honours intereſt with them, which at firſt ſeemed to have good effect; but ſince the arrival of ſeveral 10 per cent. ſhips, I have not been able to keep the trade to the fort, for there can be no limitation to the price of good

"ſlaves

" ſlaves when other ſhips out-bid us, which I am " poſitive has been done by Captain Prince, he " having given £. 14 each for men, as alſo by one " Captain Normanton, in a brigantine bound for " Jamaica, who firſt ſold blue perpets for five " angles each, and before he went off diſpoſed of " ſeveral for four angles."

From John Brown, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 18 Feb. 1704.

XIV. " WE ſell and buy as they (the private " traders) do, which puts them to " their wits end what to do, and obliges them to " lower their goods to leſs, and raiſing their price " for ſlaves, if they will have them; for they " have no way of out-trading your honours but " by underſelling. The meaſure they now take " is down-right undoing one another, by out- " ſelling and out-bidding us, and each the other " among themſelves too, that one would take " them to be out of their ſenſes, or ſent hither to " try, not who ſhall get moſt, but who ſhall loſe " moſt for his owners."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 13 May 1705.

XV. " CAptain Gladman, in the Shrewſbury- " galley, in the ſervice of Sir Jeffrey " Jeffreys (as I am informed) brought out hither " for ſale 18 guns, about three years ſince, and " ſold them to John Cabeſs, and built him his " flanker up, in oppoſition to your fort at Com-

" menda; and (as I am informed) Captain Ingle,
" maſter, the laſt voyage of her, brought out ſix
" guns, and ſold them to John Cabeſs; and this
" voyage from the Weſt-Indies he brought out
" 23 pounders to ſell, I ſuppoſe to John Cabeſs:
" I adviſed him not to ſell them to the Blacks
" for if he did, he might ſeverely pay for it. He
" then offered them to me, for your honours ac-
" count, but they being too big for ſalutes, and
" too little for offending a ſea-enemy, we did not
" agree.

" I am told that the people of Lahoo have 18
" guns well mounted upon batteries round their
" town, and the town very well palliſadoed.
" They are arrived to ſo much knowledge, that
" they can defend themſelves, and carry their guns
" up the river in great canoes to offend their ene-
" mies. The King of Whidah, and the King of
" Quamboo, have a great many very fine guns;
" the King of Saboo has two. It is true, theſe
" people do not at preſent underſtand how to uſe
" them, but how ſoon they may, none can tell;
" nor is it unreaſonable to think, that they may
" take it to be their intereſt to hire a white man
" to make them maſters of gunnery, and there is
" ſeldom wanting a renegado white man to inſtruct
" the worſt of enemies, when well offered, and
" when that's done, farewel forts and caſtles, the
" trade of this coaſt, and every thing elſe but
" cruelty and inhumanity here. Something is
" neceſſary to be done, to prevent the ſelling of
" great guns to the Blacks, either by the Engliſh
" or Dutch: I believe there are ſevere laws in
" both nations, and I am of opinion, that it is the
" Engliſh only that do this."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 30 May 1705.

XVI. "HE (the Dutch general) is the 10 per "cent. mens Diana, and they pay all "adoration, with great preſents, to him. In a "little time, not a man of them will come out "without preſents for him. Captain Prince, in "the Marlborough, ſtopt there the 25th inſtant, "and ſtaid with him two days; and he bragged "to Mr. Brown that he had plenty of beer, wine, "&c. and a ſilver punch-bowl from thence. He "paſt by us, and in his paſſing he was ſo civil as "to ſalute the flag, which was more than he did "laſt voyage, and then ſtopt a day at Morea (a "Dutch fort) I ſuppoſe to take in ſlaves and "corn."

From John Chaigneau, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 2 April 1707.

XVII. "I Muſt own your honours have been "great ſufferers on the ſale of goods "theſe two or three years paſt; it was Sir Dalby "Thomas's opinion ſo to do, rather than the 10 "per cent. men ſhould carry all the trade. Mr. "Thomas Peck was the firſt 10 per cent. man "(ſince my time) that began to lower the price of "goods, eſpecially perpets, which he ſold at five "ackeys. I was then chief at Agga, and am cer-"tain the 10 per cent. men did always ſell cheaper "than we did, and not Sir Dalby, as they pre-"tend: the reaſon of it is ſo plain, that none but "themſelves can ſay againſt it. No people in the "world (I believe) underſtand their intereſt better "than the Blacks of the Gold-Coaſt, and could

" they ſupply their wants as cheap at your ho-
" nours factories as they do aboard 10 per cent.
" ſhips, one would think they would not put
" themſelves to the charge of canoe-hire, and the
" hazard of over-ſetting with their goods, as very
" often they do: beſides that advantage on the
" price of goods, they have that on the price of
" ſlaves alſo, which they could not expect to ſell
" ſo dear, were not the 10 per cent. men ſo for-
" ward and ſo free of what is not their own. It is
" a great misfortune that your honours have ſo
" many to contend with, and of that temper,
" that, rather than you ſhould get, they would
" willingly loſe; for I dare ſay there are very few
" of them but who are loſers by the ſlave-trade."

From Seth Groſvenor, dated Winnebah, the 2d of March, 1707-8.

XVIII. " THE 10 per cent. ſhips are a mighty
" prejudice to our trade, for when
" they are upon the coaſt, and near ſlaved, they
" diſpoſe of their goods at prime coſt for diſpatch,
" and give very extravagant prices for ſlaves."

From John Paſton, dated Agga, the 3d of March 1707-8.

XIX. " THE 10 per cent. men's uſing this
" place ſo much has made ſlaves ex-
" ceſſive dear. Captains Normanton and Martin
" from Briſtol, Captains Bonham and Porter, the
" former from London, the other from Barbadoes,
" ſlaved here before the battles were fought, and
" they gave 14 pieces current for men, and nine
" pieces for women, and Normanton, it is ſaid,
" gave 15 pieces for men for his diſpatch. When
" the

" the battle was fought we expected ſlaves to be " cheap, but Captain Saunders, a Briſtol-man, " Captain Corbin from London, Morgan and " Hayes in two brigantines, kept the prices up, " that we could not buy a man under 3 oz. 3 ac. " or 3 oz. 4 ac. a head, nor women under 2 oz. " 3 ac. or 2 oz. 4 ac. a head. Your honours ſhips " the Queen-Anne's and Dorothy's ſlaves moſt of " them coſt this price. If your honours obſerve " this place all the year round, one year with " another, men-ſlaves are dearer by 12 ac. upon " a head, than they are to windward or leeward, " and women in proportion. There is but one " veſſel in the road now (nor none other that we " can hear of upon the coaſt) and that is a bri- " gantine upon your honours account, from Mr. " Cheſter of Antegoa; I believe ſhe will be ſlaved " in this road at 11 pieces the men, and ſeven the " women, in leſs time than her charter-party ſpe- " cifies."

I have, merely for brevity's ſake, pretermitted here the extracts of ſeveral other pertinent letters and advices, ſent to the Royal African Company, touching the proceedings of the ſeparate traders and others on the Gold-Coaſt, ſince the year 1697, which truly I once intended to have inſerted in this chapter; but underſtanding that there are now in this city ſeveral perſons who have ſerved the company on the coaſt of Africa, for ſome years together, in the reſpective qualities of agents, factors, captains, maſters and mates of ſhips, lieutenants, ſerjeants, and gunners of forts, carpenters, &c. and that they are ready (if required) to atteſt the verity of the premiſſes, and ſeveral other material points of fact of the ſame nature, to the Parliament; and conſidering likewiſe, that the

ſeveral matters of fact already charged on the ſeparate traders, in the firſt part of theſe Reflections, are ſufficiently explained and vouched by the foregoing extracts, I think it needleſs to enlarge any further, at preſent, on the heads of this chapter, by particular reflections or otherways, and ſhall therefore reſerve any reflections which I may have thereupon till ſome further occaſion.

CHAP. III.

Extracts of ſeveral written teſtimonies and advices ſent to the Royal African Company, touching the fraudulent and undermining practices of the general and agents of the Dutch Weſt-India Company on the coaſt of Guinea, ſince the year 1697.

From Meſſieurs William Ronan, William Melroſs, and Nicholas Buckeridge.

I. " BY a deſerter from the Mina we are informed, that the Dutch Company have " ſent over poſitive orders to ſpare no coſts to " carry on the war, and drive us out of Com- " menda; and for that end the general, with a " large ſum of money, hath corrupted the Braffo " of Fanteen, and Captain of Quaman, to aſſiſt " Little-Tagee, to whom we had lately given ſe- " veral daſhees, to encourage them to be true to " the Engliſh, for which they had taken fetiſhes " (or oaths) to ſtop that current. We are neceſ- " ſitated to be at conſiderable expence to your " honours,

" honours, to aſſiſt the Captain of Abra, Kings " of Agguaffo, Fetue and Saboo, who with us " are jointly reſolved to depoſe the Braffo of " of Fanteen, and Captain of Quaman, and make " the Captain of Abra, Braffo in his ſtead, which, " with the Danchaes aſſiſtance (who ſide with the " King of Aguaffo, &c. and are coming down to " diſpute their differences with the Arkames) " doubt not but ſhall fruſtrate all the Dutch de- " ſigns, and in a little time to have the way " ſo opened, as to have a conſiderable trade. " We hope your honours will conſider, and uſe " ſuch meaſures at home, that theſe their deſigns " may be fruſtrated, otherwiſe it will prove very " expenſive to keep your honours intereſt at " Commenda, or any where elſe; for if they " ſhould ever get the better there, they would " endeavour the deſtruction of all your honours " factories on the coaſt."

From Mr. William Cooper, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 18 Dec. 1697.

II. " WE have the welcome news of peace " by two Dutch interlopers, which, if " true, I hope may be a means to promote your " honours intereſt in the management of this " trade; which I think is very unjuſt, that others " ſhould be ſuffered to reap the benefit of thoſe " great expences your honours are daily at to " maintain it againſt our unchriſtian neighbours, " who would gladly ſpend all they have here, to " root out your honours poſſeſſion on this coaſt."

From Meſſieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, William Cooper and John Brown, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 28 May 1698.

III. "WE have at laſt regained your honours "poſſeſſion at Succundee. Doubt "not, with the aſſiſtance of the Adoones, to keep it "againſt all the wiles of our malicious neighbours, "who, are ſure, will make what oppoſition they "can. We have ſent Mr. Gabb thither, who "hitherto we have found very careful in his em-"ploy, and believe in this will uſe his utmoſt "endeavours."

From Meſſieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, William Cooper and John Brown, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 26 June 1698.

IV. "THIS brings your honours the ſad "news of our white men's being "beaten off from your ancient poſſeſſion of Suc-"cundee, which we deſigned to have re-ſettled, "as by our laſt advices; it happening upon the "1ſt of June laſt, and was done and carried on "by Dutch Blacks, privately ſent from the Mina, "ſome in their own ſhips and canoes, and the reſt "by land. We having, before-hand, ſecret in-"telligence from ſeveral, of their pernicious in-"tentions, ſent to adviſe the general thereof, by "ours of the 29th of May laſt, who owned to "have ſent them, as by his of the 9th inſt. N. S. "but covered their deſign. They went under "pretence of going to demand a debt, as he had "ſent them for; but from what they did when "there, is evident he gave them no ſuch com-"miſſion; the which, had he ſo pleaſed, he might "have

" have countermanded, but would not, we having " timely forewarned him, before any miſchief was " done, to prevent it, and not ſuffer, nor ſend " his Blacks to moleſt our ſettlement, and to cut " off the lives of our white men, in ſervice of your " honours there."

Part of a letter from Meſſieurs Buckeridge, Cooper and Brown, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 29 May 1698, to Mr. John Van Sevenhuyſen, General at the Mina.

V. " WE were in hopes, by our late con- " tract, we ſhould have lived in " amity, which truly is our deſire; but we per- " ceive your mind is otherways bent, elſe you " would not ſend your people from the Mina by " land, or your ſhips by ſea, to take our fort at " Succundee, for what reaſon we know not; we " are ſure by no provocation from us, or the peo- " ple that are our friends. We do not deſire to " moleſt your fort, and you muſt expect, if our " people be cut off, their lives will be required at " your hands.

" Our ſloop, by diſtreſs of weather, at Suc- " cundee-Road, loſing both anchors, the maſter " ſent on board your ſhip, deſiring the lend of " one, but the meſſengers were anſwered by your " mate, " It is true we have enough, but do you " think we will ſpare any to you; do you not ſee " we are ſent to take your fort, and can you ex- " pect our help?" To which our men anſwered, " We muſt then periſh." To which your mate " ſlightly replied, " Why then periſh, and the " Lord have mercy upon your ſouls."

From Meſſieurs Buckeridge, Cooper and Brown, to Mr. John Van Sevenhuyſen, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 7 June 1698.

VI. " YOUR's of the 9th inſtant, N. S. have
" received, wherein you ſeem to be diſ-
" guſted at the precaution we gave you of the
" miſchief we not only ſuſpected, but was in-
" formed of, by your own people, was intended
" againſt ours at Succundee. We wiſh there had
" been as little truth in it as you pretend, but we
" find to the contrary, our white men being mur-
" dered, and other black ſervants; our ſlaves
" ſeized, houſes burned, the Royal African Com-
" pany's lawful poſſeſſions wreſted by force and
" violence from us; and not only this, but the
" ſurviving men ſtript and miſerably abuſed by
" them. You acknowledged to have ſent them
" with a ſham pretence of receiving debts; we are
" not ſenſible of any debt due from our company
" to your's, if we were, you might aſſure yourſelf
" of ſatisfaction upon demand, and not put you
" to the trouble and charge of levying an army.
" The occaſion now of troubling you is, to know
" whether you will acknowledge theſe things to
" have been done by your order; if ſo, we ſhall
" leave it to your betters: but hoping to find it
" otherwiſe, and that you deliver up thoſe bloody
" villains, the authors, to receive the puniſhment
" ſuitable to the deſerts of murder, &c. which in
" juſtice you cannot deny: although you might,
" by ſlight evaſions, ſeek excuſes, you cannot
" reaſonably think but that other ſatisfaction will
" be required.

" You

" You are pleaſed to ſay you ſent your ſhip to " look after interlopers, which we admire you " ſhould pretend, when the whole country knows " of the contrary, ſhe being never deſigned far- " ther than Butteroe and Succundee, at which " places you well knew ſhe was not likely to meet " with any. Had you been wholly clear of this " action, your Copeman durſt not have ſuffered " the plunderer to have been brought into his " fort, as was done, before all our white men's " faces, and ſo barbarouſly to abuſe them, and ſo " inhumanly to turn them abroad almoſt naked, " and with the captain to ridicule their misfor- " tunes. Our guns cannot be carried off by the " Blacks; and many other things are there loſt, " which we expect you to enquire after, being " acted by perſons commiſſionated by you.

" We return you thanks for your generous " proffer of aſſiſting us in the recovery of any " debts that ſhould be due to our company from " any perſons under your protection; there " are ſeveral now at the Mina, who were chief " actors in this action, conſiderably indebted to " our company, the which we long ſince adviſed " you of. We ſhall not further inlarge at preſent, " hoping, as you have always profeſt yourſelf a " ſtrict obſerver of the amity and union of both " nations, you will now ſhew it by an exemplary " piece of juſtice, in delivering up the actors of " this bloody tragedy, as well for their debts as " this their other villainy; which, with due re- " ſpects, is all at preſent from, &c."

From

From Ditto's to Ditto.

SIR, Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 16 July 1698.

VII. "WHEN our white men, who were "wounded at Succundee, are reco- "vered, we ſhall take their depoſitions concerning "what we wrote you in our laſt, and give the need- "ful anſwer to your's. This, in the mean while, "ſerves to inform, we are adviſed by our chief "at Winnebah, that one of our company's ſlaves, "named Coffee, travelling upon the road towards "Mumford, to buy corn, was ſet upon between "that and your factory at Apom, by one of your "black ſervants, and two of your company's "ſlaves there, who killed him, with more than "25 ſtabs in his body, cutting his neck round to "the bone. Our ſaid factor ſent to your's at "Apom, to demand ſatisfaction for the murder, "which is denied, and is the reaſon we addreſs "ourſelves to you, that if you do not approve of "what they committed, you will now ſhew it by "an exemplary juſtice done upon the murderers, "which, with our joint reſpects, is what offers at "preſent from, &c."

From Meſſieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, Howſley Freeman, and Samuel Wallis, dated at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 5 March 1699

VIII. "WE ſhall obſerve your orders relating "to Dutch interlopers, and not "permit any into this Road; but we cannot, "with ſafety to your honours intereſt, ſuffer the "Dutch company's ſhips to come in or lie here, "under the notion of intercepting them, for by "that means we ſhould never be clear of their "ſhip-

" ſhipping, and thoſe loaded with goods, to rob
" us of our trade. The Dutch Weſt-India Com-
" pany may make your honours abundance of
" ſpecious pretences of amity and friendly cor-
" reſpondence, in point of ſettling the commerce
" and other affairs of this country, but we are
" ſatisfied it is impoſſible for them, or their agents
" here, to keep any contract of that kind invio-
" lable, eſpecially when the leaſt proſpect of ad-
" vantage appears on their ſide; as your honours
" may be ſatisfied by a copy of Mr. Gerrard Gore's
" letter incloſed, wherein you will perceive their
" ſole endeavours are, as opportunity preſents,
" to ſupplant and undermine your honours inte-
" reſt and trade on the coaſt, as much as ever
" they did the Eaſt-India Company's at Amboyna,
" and (if it were in their power) by the like bar-
" barous methods."

Copy of Gerrard Gore's letter to the chief merchants at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, dated Commenda the 8th Feb. 1699-1700.

" Worthy Sirs,

IX. " THIS comes acquainting your wor-
" ſhips, that the Cuffera traders (which
" in my laſt, of the 29th of Jan. I adviſed your
" worſhips of) who bought ſome goods here, and
" came to treat here of other goods, and of an
" open way to bring traders here, who were
" friends to Little Taggee, named Hooke-come,
" who are aſſiſtants to Little Taggee in this fight,
" going then a new way up into their country,
" with two or three of John Cabeſs's men, and
" my canoe, and going up the river that is on
" this ſide Shumah, they were all panyared (or
" ſeized) by a Doom-Cabaſhire named Occrew,
" who

" who lives going up that river; and he ſaid that " he was ordered to do the ſame by the Dutch, " and to ſeize all Engliſh goods from all traders " that had bought them here, and alſo further to " panyar (or ſeize) all people and all things that " belongs to, or comes from John Cabeſs. Theſe " men and goods have been panyared theſe eight " days, but never heard thereof before this morn- " ing, which I thought fit to acquaint your wor- " ſhips of, having ſent this by one of John Ca- " beſs's men, and the canoe that brought this " news, to inform your worſhips of the particu- " lars more at large, is the needful at preſent, " from, &c."

From Meſſieurs Howſley Freeman, Tho. Peck, and William Hicks, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 9 Feb. 1701-2.

X. " BEfore the receipt of your's, having no- " tice of ſome villainies committed by " Barter, being up in the country, ſent for him " down; but he, being conſcious of our having " knowledge of his actions, flew up into the " country. We doubt his under-hand dealings " with the Dutch, who take his part (although " Mr. Peck went to the Mina to conſult them) " will put us to ſome inconveniences."

From Mr. Thomas Cooper (chaplain) dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 19 Sept. 1701.

XI. " THERE is war between us and the " Blacks of Annamaboe, and all things " are in diſorder and confuſion; and likewiſe it is " reported that the Dutch (contrary to the articles " agreed upon) aſſiſt the Blacks with powder and " guns."

From

From Mr. William Coles, dated Accra, 24 April 1702.

XII. "ON the 2d of March 1701-2, I arrived "at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle in good health, "which, I bleſs God, continues. By reaſon of "my ſhort ſtay there, cannot inform your honours "farther, than that they were full of Palavers, "the town's people often diſturbed by the Fetueſe "firing into the town. Barter was then with the "Dutch at Commenda, where he has ſince ſlaved "off a brigantine, Capt. Corbin, commander."

From ditto Coles, dated Winnebah, 14 Sept. 1702.

XIII. "ON the death of the King of Quam-"boe, the King of Ackim has made "war, in which if he proves ſucceſsful, will make "well for Accra and Alampoe. Concerning the "latter, I think it would be much to your ho-"nours intereſt to give ſome ſpeedy and neceſſary "orders for finiſhing that fort. Capt. James has "already, by the inſtigation of the Danes and "Dutch, fallen from his promiſe in aſſiſting the "people in that work."

From Zorobabel Swinefield to James Gray, Eſq; dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 15 May 1703.

XIV. "HOW much the Dutch are your ri-"vals in trade, your honour is a "judge; but it cannot be expected ours ſhould "encreaſe, whilſt they give Barter a protection, "under their caſtle, to ſtop any from coming in "here. I cannot tell what courſe the gentlemen "deſign to take for the future to prevent ſuch "incon-

" inconveniences, but certainly at preſent we ſuffer " much by his villainy."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 23 March 1703.

XV. " ON the 22d January I received a letter " from Mr. John Snow, your honours " chief at your fort of Winebah, dated 20th of " the ſaid month, by which he gave me an ac- " count, that the Dutch were coming to ſettle at " Sanja or Barracoe-Point, in the country of An- " guina, near your fort of Winebah.

" The Dutch have a fort at a place called " Apong, within three leagues on this ſide (or, " as they call it, to windward) of Winebah, and " Samja, or Barracoe-Point, within three leagues " on the other ſide (or to leeward) of Winebah; " ſo that, by this deſign, your honours fort was " to be hemmed in, and you defeated of your " trade, this laſt place being the only road left " for your traders to come to your fort at Wine- " bah, being a paſs that all people muſt come " through who deſign for Winebah; and the " Dutch have never failed (as I have been in- " formed) by money or force, where they have " power, to hinder the traders from coming to " your forts, which made me the more concerned, " they well knowing that your goods would gain " all the traders, being better goods than theirs, " and more deſirable by the natives."

Ditto.

" HE (the Dutch general) alſo denied the deli- " very of Prince, alias Auricoo of Sanja, " alias Barraco, who was (when demanded by " Dr. Mitchel) in the caſtle of the Mina, a ſervant " of

" of yours, and a native of the kingdom of An-
" guina; one of thoſe that put the general upon
" ſettling at Sanja, near your honours fort at
" Winebah."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 9 April 1704.

XVI. " I Hope you will prevent the Dutch
" from driving you out of this country,
" as by degrees they will, at all times, when they
" can endeavour it. I ſhall not, without your
" order, make uſe of the preſent power I have to
" diſturb them."

Ditto.

" THE Dutch general gave him (Mr. Peck)
" his liſt in every thing, and became, con-
" trary to his promiſe to me, his great amico. He
" would never come to Cape-Coaſt; wooded and
" watered, by the Dutch general's direction, at
" Shumah."

This is mentioned, becauſe the Dutch general knew Peck to be a late unfaithful ſervant of the company's.

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 29 Oct. 1704.

XVII. " I Doubt not but, in a little time, to
" make Succundee anſwer, which is
" reſettled with very little charge, though the
" Dutch uſed all their ſtratagems to prevent it,
" and offered great ſums to bring the people upon
" us; but they have been tired with their (Dutch)
" tyranny."

From ditto, dated 4 Jan. 1704.

XVIII. " BY the paſt, as well as preſent daily behaviour of the Dutch here, it is " demonſtrable that they will never keep any con- " tract or agreement they make; for their treach- " erous ways of dealings having got them ſo many " poſſeſſions, it cannot be hoped to have any ſin- " cerity from them.

" They have the advantage of all other nations; " their miniſters of ſtate, and all other their law- " makers, being merchants, and moſt generally " intereſted in their trading companies, thoſe " companies never want proper laws nor encou- " ragement, and the governors and generals of " their ſocieties in foreign parts never want the " States protection, act they but wiſely, be it " never ſo treacherouſly."

Ditto.

" THE Braffo of Fanteen, who is the head " man of all that country where Cormantine " is, ſent me word that the Dutch general had " been down at Cormantine, to ſtir the people " againſt us, and that, with his and the King of " Saboo's inſtigation, they had brought many over " to unite againſt us."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 30 May 1705.

XIX. " THE Dutch General has alſo ſet up a Cabaſheer at the Mina, to be Dey " of Fetue, to oppoſe the Queen and the Dey " that are with us, to hearten the people that are

" at

" at Fetue not to return to their duty, and to " encourage them to hold out againſt your ho- " nours intereſt."

From Mr. Charles Hayes, dated Cape-Coaſt Caſtle, 29 Aug. 1705.

XX. " IT was the preſent management of the " Dutch that ſet me upon the enquiry; " I have ſeen ſo much of their undermining tem- " per and diſhonourable proceedings on this " coaſt, that I was willing to be informed what " part they acted in former days: by all that I " can learn, they are, in all times, unchangeable " and the ſame.

" By their bribery and treachery your trade has " been ſtopt, goods ſeized, traders impriſoned, " your forts taken and deſtroyed, and ſeveral of " your ſervants loſt their lives, openly defending " the honour and intereſt of their maſters and " country againſt the bloody emiſſaries of the " Dutch; and the villains who have been moſt " deeply concerned in ſuch actions, they have " ever afterwards encouraged and protected: " they have ſpared neither coſt nor charges to " interrupt and oppoſe your lawful ſettlements, " and to embroil thoſe countries in war who dared " to eſpouſe your intereſt; they have ſeized your " goods and canoes by ſea, and from their forts " fired great ſhot at yours, when they have had " the colours of Great-Britain flying on them; " they have, in hoſtile manner, fired at your ſer- " vants, both Whites and Blacks, when employed " about your buſineſs, at the peril of their lives; " they have uſurped to themſelves the ſovereignty " of the ſeas, guarding and inſulting your roads, " taking ſhips of our allies out of ſome, and in

" the very mouth of others, contrary to known
" privileges, eſteemed moſt ſacred by all nations,
" and in defiance to the crown and dignity of
" England, to which of right they belong, and
" who, on all other occaſions, has ever appeared
" ſingularly jealous of her honour and preroga-
" tives at ſea. In a word, they have neither va-
" lued alliances nor the moſt ſacred laws of nature
" and nations, when they have had a point to
" gain on this coaſt, juſtifying themſelves by a
" pretended right to moſt places on the coaſt,
" which they as confidently aſſert as if they had
" had immemorable preſcription, and the univer-
" ſal conſent of nations and the natives on their
" ſide, none of which can they, in the leaſt, pre-
" tend to juſtly. Now, when you have ſuffered
" as much as has been poſſible for them, by bar-
" barity and treachery, to accompliſh, muſt the
" memory of ſuch actions ſink into forgetfulneſs?
" That is the way to encourage them to go on in
" their affronts and abuſes! It is, in my humble
" opinion, high time to look out, and give warn-
" ing, and, by a fair and impartial repreſentation
" of their management, for a ſeries of many years,
" to make the nation ſenſible what ſort of people
" they have to deal with, and to ſee whether their
" actions do not correſpond with that memorable
" ſaying, ' That the Dutch are England's eternal
" enemies in trade, both by intereſt and inclina-
" tion.'

" And poſſibly it may then appear reaſonable
" to ſeek for that juſt ſatisfaction which the
" wounded honour and intereſt of England, and
" the blood of her innocent ſubjects, and your
" ſervants, loudly call for, or at leaſt to take
" ſuch meaſures as may diſappoint them hereafter;
" for, unleſs the ſupreme powers of the nation

" eſpouſe

" eſpouſe this cauſe, the intereſt of England in " foreign parts muſt ſink, wherever the treacherous " Dutch can have footing; and it is certain that " forts and caſtles are not only neceſſary, for ſe- " curing your trade with the natives, but that the " publick authority muſt encourage means to get " immediate open ſatisfaction, either here or at " home, on ſuch a people, when gentler means " become ineffectual."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, Sept. 1705*.

XX. " INcloſed is the proteſt againſt the Dutch " Company, for your loſs in the Phœnix " ſloop, and the men's certificates of the Dutch- " man's managing of them. If your honours " cannot have redreſs in theſe things, you muſt " leave off trading in ſmall veſſels, for they take " a pride in hunting your ſmall veſſels about, and " commanding your ſhip-maſters on board, to " ſhew the natives on ſhore, and their own Blacks " on board, how they can inſult over us. I be- " lieve it is worth your honours while to know by " what authority they command your captains out " of your ſhips; for, if poſſible, it ſhould not be, " I think."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, Nov. 1, 1705.

XXI. " MR. Nuyts recommends a good " friendſhip, &c. and keeping the " natives in order, and immediately breaks " through it, and entertains John Cabeſs, who

* The original is dated Blank, Sept. 1705.

" was a villainous ſervant to your honours, and " owes money (though, by the pawns, I believe " your honours will be no loſers; but they and " John think otherways.) I think this doing is a " mighty change from his letter, breaking all " friendſhip, and encouraging the villainous tem- " per of the natives, inſtead of keeping them in " order. Your honours may ſee a Dutchman's " temper; this John Cabeſs having cut off the " heads of about half a dozen Dutchmen, and yet " a bulſe of gold has attoned for the puniſhment " due to him, which the late general has often " threatened him with.

" I am alſo informed by Mr. Harris, your chief " at Succundee, that the Dutch Copeman has " panyared (or ſecured) the Cabaſheers there, and " made them take fetiſhes that they would not " come near the caſtle, nor do us any ſervice; " and they forbear."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated 10 Feb. 1705-6.

XXII. " I Went for Dickies-cove, and when I " arrived there, the Cabaſheers of " Dickies-cove told me, that the day before the " Dutch had delivered out arms, powder and am- " munition to all the people of Butteroe, Pam- " paney, and all other places thereabouts, and " had given them orders to deſtroy all the people " of Taccarado, and murther the white men; " particularly, if they catch me alive, to cut off " my head, and ſend it to Mr. Nuyts, Copeman " of Mina. I aſked them how they could tell " thoſe particulars? They ſaid, they had friends " and relations among them, who had ſent them " word of it; and the next day after my arrival, " they told me they had deſtroyed and burnt the

" the

" town of Taccarado, killed one, and wounded " four."

Ditto.

" IF your honours do not take it to be your " intereſt to check the Dutch in all their " doings, you will quickly find them to root you " out in moſt places. They do not deny their " giving the natives money, powder, ammuni- " tion, &c. for deſtroying the people of Tacca- " rado, and your people there. They ſay they " may give out what they pleaſe to the natives, " without breach of peace."

From Ditto, dated 6 March 1705-6.

XXIII. " MR. Crabb goes for England by " the Broughton, he being ſo deaf, " and having ſuch a noiſe in his head, as he ſays, " he is not fit for your buſineſs: he will acquaint " your honours of the Dutch uſing us at Tacca- " rado. They have lately cut down and deſtroyed " a lime-houſe we built, to preſerve your lime in " the time of rain; and they make a jeſt of us to " the natives, that we have not time to build, we " follow nothing but punch, but that they will " build a fort at Taccarado: but whether the " natives will permit or no, I cannot tell. They " are impudent enough, not only to expoſe us by " talking, &c. but by their actions by ſea and " land. At ſea their cruizers will chace and fire " ſhot at your coaſters, and all other your ſmall " veſſels, though known by them, to bring us " to, for them to ſhew the Blacks and their " people how they command us. Captain Green " can inform your honours how he had two ſhot " fired at him; and until your honours thinl-

" convenient to prevent it, by giving directions " to your people to deal with them as they deal " by you; or that the Dutch company make re- " moval of their chiefs for doing theſe things, " and pay you and your people for all the da- " mages they receive in body and eſtates; for till " then theſe things will be daily doing."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated 26 March 1706.

XXIV. " THE Dutch ſtill go on in giving us " all the affronts they can: they " have panyared our goods that were carrying " from Commenda by traders, and they ſay they " will do it till they give our notes out. I do not " know that your honours are to trade under " them, or by their leave. When our affairs are " a little better ſettled, I believe I ſhall venture to " make them an example for it."

From Mr. William Hicks, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 5 Feb. 1706-7.

XXV. " ABout negociating a peace with the " King of Saboo, Sir Dalby Tho- " mas ſent him word (it being late) that I ſhould " wait on him the next morning; upon which he " returns to Morea, a Dutch fort, where he was " entertained by the chief, who told him that I " was only an inſtrument, ſet on by Sir Dalby, to " betray him; and notwithſtanding all the fair " promiſes I gave him, it was not in my power to " perform one tittle: for, to aggravate this mat- " ter the more, he aſſured the King, if the general " pleaſed, he could put me in irons too. Thus, " ſirs, with t eſe terrifying arguments of the " Dutch,

" Dutch, was my ſecond attempt of ſettling a " peace with theſe neighbouring Kings overſet."

From Mr. Seth Groſvenor, at Winnebah, without date, ſuppoſed to be Feb. 1706-7.

Received per Broughton, 19 May 1707.

XXVI. " I Have been adviſed, that this country " of Anguina was formerly entirely " for your honours intereſt, as by the contract " betwixt you and the Queen of this country; " but the Dutch, like treacherous undermining " people, have encroached, ſo as to make a ſet- " tlement at a place called Barracoe, where they " have erected a ſmall triangular fort of 12 guns.

" I find them very troubleſome neighbours, " always incenſing the natives againſt us, to in- " terrupt us in our trade. The Dutch chief at " Barracoe lately panyared ſeveral of your ho- " nours goods from traders, which they had " bought here of me, telling them he ſhould al- " ways continue to do ſo, if they came to the " Engliſh to buy goods.

" I ſent a meſſenger to demand the goods, and " to know the reaſon why he panyared them; " but he denied the delivery of them, and told " the meſſenger, it was becauſe they came here " to buy them.

" I have ſince had a meeting with the ſaid " Dutch chief, and made him deliver the goods " again to me, which he panyared from the tra- " ders: he alſo promiſed never to panyar any " more of your honours goods, ſince which he is " very civil."

From

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 15 Feb. 1706-7.

XXVII. "THE Dutch are falſe and treacherous, and ever will be under-hand dealers, and deſtroyers of your trade and people, by all the ways and means they can invent. They lately took a Portugueze from under your fort at Succundee, that came in for protection, and their cruizer fired ſeveral ſhot at our fort on purpoſe; and ſince then they have fired at another, in your road at Winnebah."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 25 April 1707.

XXVIII. "A Proteſt being ſent to me from the Mina, to hinder us from having oyſter-ſhells at Taccarado, near Succundee; and the Copeman of the Mina, who brought it, telling me, that that night his general or he was to go up to Taccarado, and the people there; and the neighbouring Cabiſheers having taken fetiſhes to be true to us, and to ſtand by one another, and that we ſhould have oyſter-ſhells there; and your chief of Succundee having informed me, that your people were in great fear of the Dutch, and that, if we did not now ſtand by them, they ſhould be undone; and, in conſideration of that, and the uſual braggs of the Dutch, that we never ſtood by any black man, and ſuffered them always to fall into their hands, to be puniſhed for their rebelling againſt them (as they term it) we have thought it neceſſary, for your honours intereſt, to make a ſtand there againſt the Dutch; and there-

" therefore, as ſoon as the Dutchmen were gone, " we ordered Captain Taylor to get himſelf im- " mediately in a readineſs for ſailing for Succun- " dee, and we ſhipped that night on board him " about 100 of your black ſoldiers."

Ditto.

" THE Dutch had two ſhips at Taccarado " before us, ſo that they made three and " we but one, and they had at leaſt three times " the number of Blacks we had; yet we made " ſuch a ſtand that they did not dare to affront " us; and we brought the Antee people to the " terms we deſired, and in every thing elſe had " the honour of the day."

Ditto.

" ON the 22d inſtant I had advice from Mr. " Pearſon, your chief at Commenda, and " from John Cabeſs, that the Dutch was drawing " the Shumah and Yabbah people, to windward " of Commenda, together, and the Mina people, " and what other he could get together, to attack " John in his croome, and that your chief wanted " nothing but corn, and a better gunner, in caſe " they ſhould be blocked up or attacked; upon " which we immediately diſpatched Mr. Hicks up " (Mr. Pearſon being weak, and not well in " health) with your gunner, and corn in your " Pindar's long-boat, and a five-hand canoe, all " in arms, and the boat with two patteraroes, " leſt the Dutch ſhould pretend to ſtop them as " they paſs by the Mina, as they have endea- " voured to do ſeveral of your canoes, and parti- " larly one of your large canoes, which I ſent " armed

" armed from Succundee for advice and neceſſa-
" ries for us from Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle. From the
" Mina-Caſtle they fired three great ſhot, and
" from a ſhip in the Mina-Road they fired four
" more, and ſent ſeveral ſmall canoes armed after
" her; but they, finding that ſhe was armed too,
" and your people reſolute, they left her."

Ditto.

" IN two or three days I ſhall be able to ſee what
" will be the effects of the grand council
" which they have called at the Mina, whether
" they will agree to follow the villainous deſign
" of their general, or not; for, if he can have his
" will, he will, like ſome of his predeceſſors, do
" his utmoſt to deſtroy us; and we do not queſ-
" tion but that he (like his predeceſſors who have
" made theſe attempts) will fail in his villainous
" deſign."

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, 15 Jan. 1707-8.

XXIX. " TAccarado is a place of no manner
" of trade, and has been tried by
" all nations trading thither; yet the preſent
" Dutch general, to ſhew his mortal hatred to us,
" has built a fort of ſeven or eight guns there,
" and ſettled a Copeman in it, with all other at-
" tendances, as in other places, for no other end
" or purpoſe than to hinder us from getting oyſter-
" ſhells."

From

From Ditto, 28 March 1708.

XXX. "BY a Portugueze ſhip that came "from Liſbon, I was informed that "the King of Portugal had offered to the King "of Pruſſia 40,000 *l.* for his fort at Cape Tres-"points, and the two other ſettlements belonging "to it. I think it a great deal of money to be "given for any ſituation on this coaſt; and I am "apt to believe, if it is ever bought by the Por-"tugueze, the Dutch will take it from them, for "they fear no conſequences, can they but gain "their point by all the deceitful ways poſſible."

From Ditto, 29 July 1708.

XXXI. "THE Dutch on the River Butteroe, "where they have a ſmall fort, "near your Dickies-Cove, are (as I am informed) "laying out ground for ſugar and rum-works, "and the general has ſent a ſhip to Whidah to "bring up 200 ſlaves; and they ſay, that by "their next ſhipping they expect materials for "carrying on a ſugar-plantation, and ſugar-"works, &c."

The contents of the aforeſaid 31 articles are (as I humbly apprehend) ſuch manifeſt and ſelf-evident proofs of the Dutch Weſt-India Company's unalterable deſigns of ſupplanting the Britiſh intereſt on the coaſt of Guinea, as much as they can, through the ſides of the Royal African Company, that there ſeems to be no great occaſion, at preſent, for any farther commentary on this chapter; and therefore I will proceed to the next point propoſed.

CHAP. IV.

A farther and more particular account of the ſituation, ſtate and condition of the Royal African Company's forts, factories and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and of ſeveral remarkable diſaſters which have happened to the ſeparate traders on the coaſts of Calabar, Angola, and other parts, where the Company have no forts, &c.

FROM what has been already ſaid, in the firſt part of theſe Reflections, and particularly in the 3d and 4th chapters thereof, any indifferent perſon may readily be convinced of not only the neceſſity of having forts and ſettlements, for the ſecurity and improvement of the trade to Africa, but likewiſe of the uſefulneſs and moderate eſtimation therein mentioned, of theſe which are now in the Company's poſſeſſion. Yet, ſince ſome of the ſeparate traders ſeem ſtill reſolved to impoſe (as far as they can) their own vain dreams and ſuggeſtions upon the nation, at any rate, and have been at abundance of pains to make theſe forts paſs for no other than ſome few inſignificant thatched houſes, I ſhall (I am ſure upon much better grounds, and I hope with better ſucceſs too) endeavour to maintain the contradictory part of that argument, to the conviction of more competent and leſs biaſſed judges than the ſeparate traders can, from their paſt conduct and manner of reaſoning, be well ſuppoſed to be.

I ſhall begin then with the Gold-Coaſt, as being that part of the whole coaſt of Africa to which the

the generality of all European traders do ſteer their courſe, and, for the moſt part, confine their trade.

I. DICKIES-COVE is a large ſquare fort, ſituated near the ſea-ſide, having a Brandenburgh fort within two miles to the weſtward, and a Dutch fort within three miles to the eaſtward of it: it is built with ſtone and lime, has two round flankers, and two ſquare baſtions, with 12 guns mounted in very good order, and a ſuitable tank. There are in it commonly 16 white men, and about 14 Gromettoes, who are as good for defence and ſervice as ſo many white men, and always in the Company's pay.

II. SUCCUNDEE is a four-ſquare fort, ſituated on a hill, about 50 paces from the ſea-ſide, between two Dutch forts, the one to the weſtward, the other to the eaſtward of it; is built with brick and lime, has its guns mounted, and a tank alſo. There are commonly in it 15 white men and 20 Gromettoes.

III. COMMENDA is a large four-ſquare fort, with three large ſquare flankers and one round; and within this fort is a large four-ſquare tower, all built with ſtone and lime. It is ſituated on a level ground, about 50 paces from the ſea-ſide, between two Dutch forts, the one to the weſtward and the other about half a mile to the eaſtward of it. It has 24 good guns mounted, and is uſually guarded with about 20 white men and 30 Gromettoes, and has a tank likewiſe.

IV. CAPE-COAST-CASTLE is a very large fort, with four flankers, and a large platform that hath nine pieces of ordnance mounted thereon; the battlements have 10 guns, and the flankers 25, from a minion to nine pounders; and on a rock

called Tabora, within 20 paces of the caſtle, there are four 12 pounders more mounted, making in the whole 48 guns, all in good order. It is ſituated by the ſea-ſide, having the chief fort belonging to the Dutch within nine miles to the weſtward, and and another Engliſh fort within a mile to the eaſtward of it. It is commonly guarded with about 100 white men and 150 Gromettoes, and has two large tanks. In ſhort, this is incomparably the beſt of all the fortifications, of whatever nation, on the coaſt of Africa.

V. FORT-ROYAL is a ſquare fort newly rebuilt of brick, and has ſeven guns mounted on the caſtle, and 11 on the platform. It is conſtantly guarded with about ſix white men and 12 Gromettoes; is ſeated on the top of a hill, within leſs than a mile of Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle to the eaſtward, and they are very aſſiſting one to the other.

VI. QUEEN-ANN'S-POINT is a fort lately built of ſtone and lime, ſituated on a hill near the ſea-ſide, within leſs than a mile of Fort-Royal to the weſtward, and two miles of a Dutch fort to the eaſtward of it; has five guns mounted, and is commonly guarded with five white men and ſix Gromettoes.

VII. ANNISHAN is a factory ſettled by the Royal African Company, between a Dutch fort about three miles to the weſtward, and an Engliſh fort within the like ſpace to the eaſtward of it, and is of conſiderable uſe to the latter, having commonly three white men and 10 Gromettoes in it, with ſmall arms, &c.

VIII. ANNAMABOE is a pretty ſtrong fort, conſiſting chiefly of two flankers to the ſea-ſide, built of ſtone, bricks and lime. It is ſituated on a rock about 20 yards from the water-ſide, having the ſaid factory of Anniſhan to the weſtward, and another

another Engliſh factory within a mile to the eaſtward of it. There are 11 good guns and two patteraroes mounted in it, and is commonly guarded with about 12 white men and 18 Gromettoes, and has a tank alſo.

IX. AGGA is a profitable factory-houſe, built of ſtone and lime, hath uſually three white men and 10 Gromettoes in it, with ſmall arms, &c. is ſituated between Annamaboe-Fort, which is about a mile to the eaſtward, and Cormanteen-Caſtle (a fort which the Dutch took from the Engliſh in time of the laſt Dutch war) within three miles to eaſtward of it.

X. SHIDOE is a profitable factory, ſituated near mid-way between a Dutch fort to the weſtward and an Engliſh fort to the eaſtward of it, and makes good returns to Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle.

XI. WINNEBAH is a large four-ſquare fort, with four flankers, all built of ſtone and lime: there are 18 guns in it, is commonly guarded with about 12 white men and 28 Gromettoes, and has a ſuitable tank. It is ſituated about 120 paces from the ſea, within three miles of Shidoe to the weſtward, and 36 miles of Accra to the eaſtward.

XII. ACCRA is a large four-ſquare caſtle, with four flankers, built of ſtone and lime, has 20 good guns mounted, guarded commonly with about 18 white men and 30 Gromettoes, and has a tank alſo. It is ſituated upon a rock on the ſea-ſide, between Winnebah to the weſtward, and a Dutch fort within half a mile to the eaſtward of it.

XIII. ALAMPOE is a conſiderable place for buying of ſlaves: it has been poſſeſſed by the Company for ſeveral years, having had a factory there, with about five white men and 10 Gromettoes, with ſmall arms, &c. They made ſome ſteps

towards building a fort there, but the Dutch interpoſed with the natives, and has been diſcontinued for ſome time; however, I underſtand they are about reſettling it again, &c. It is ſituated near the ſea-ſide, between Accra and Whidah.

XIV. WHIDAH is a fort about 100 yards ſquare, with four large flankers, all built of mud, having a battery with 21 good guns mounted, and a trench of about 20 feet deep and 18 feet wide round it: it is commonly guarded with about 20 white men and 100 Gromettoes. It is ſituated about three miles from the water-ſide, between a Daniſh fort at Accra to the weſtward, and two forts belonging to the French and Dutch, within half a mile each of the other, to the eaſtward of it; and about four miles from Whidah, in the King's town, the Company have a factory-houſe, a place of very conſiderable trade.

All the afore-mentioned tanks are made of ſtone and lime, very ſtrong and well tarraſſed: ſome of them will hold between 4 and 500 tuns of water, and the reſt proportionably, to ſerve the number of men belonging to each fort, with water for one year, and very often ſerve ſhipping alſo.

To each fort belong proper ſtore-houſes, with convenient apartments for the aforeſaid white men and gromettoes, and houſes apart for ſuch ſlaves as are bought for exportation.

To theſe forts belong likewiſe ſeveral pinnaces, long-boats and canoes, to attend the neceſſary occaſions of building, repairing, &c. beſides other ſmall ſhips and veſſels frequently employed in ſerving the ſeveral ſettlements, by tranſporting ſtores, neceſſaries, proviſions, &c. from one place to another along the coaſt.

It is obſervable, that all along the Gold-Coaſt, the Engliſh and Dutch forts and ſettlements, as

they are the moſt numerous, ſo they are the moſt contiguous of any other; and theſe two companies ſeem to rival one another more than either of them does any other European company, becauſe indeed none of the other companies are of themſelves (without ſome ſupervenient help) capable to cope with either of the former.

Then, as to the forts on the North-Coaſt of Africa, it will appear, by the contents of the 108th page of this volume, that

XV. JAMES-FORT, in the River of Gambia (before the French took it, merely by reaſon of cowardice or negligence, or both, of the then Engliſh governor, though the French had a ſquadron of ſix ſhips of force on that expedition) was abſolutely the next beſt fortification to Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, of all the fortifications on either the South or North coaſts of Africa; but the Company's circumſtances (beſide its being a work of time) could not well admit of repairing it as yet, to its former condition: however, with the advantage of its ſituation, it is now repaired to a ſtate of making a pretty good defence, providing a good man have the charge and command thereof. It is a four-ſquare fort, with four flankers, all built with ſtone and lime, and has between 40 and 50 very good guns in it, though ſome of them may poſſibly, as yet, be not mounted. It is ſituated on a rock near the middle of that river, and has commonly between 50 and 60 white men, and about 50 Gromettoes always in the company's pay, belonging to it; and under its influence there are ſeveral factories in the reſpective branches of that river.

XVI. SHERBROW-FORT, being on an iſland, has always been known by the name of YORK-ISLAND. That fort was built by the Royal African Company, four-ſquare, having three round

flankers and one ſquare flanker, with 11 guns, and about 20 paces from the fort, on the ſea-beach, two large round flankers, with five good guns on each, all built with ſtone and lime, and guarded uſually with about 25 white men and between 50 and 60 Gromettoes, all in the Company's pay. But the Company having, ſince the Revolution, attacked and taken the French Company's two forts of Goree and Senegal, the French King not only made up that Company's loſſes, but alſo ſent ſhips of war, from time to time, to retake theſe two forts, and to deſtroy as many as they could of the Engliſh Company's ſettlements; by which means (the Engliſh Company not being equally ſupported from hence) York-Iſland happened to fare little better than James-Fort in Gambia River, and is not as yet quite repaired to its former condition.

XVII. SIERRA-LEON FORT, being likewiſe on an iſland, has been commonly known by the name of BENCE-ISLAND. It was built by the Royal African Company, with ſtone and lime; it had one round flanker, with five large guns, a curteen-wall, with port-holes and four good guns, and a low platform juſt without the fort, which had ſix good guns on it, all of them well mounted, and guarded by 20 white men and 30 Gromettoes. But in July 1704, four French ſhips, whereof two were ſhips of great force, having anchored in Frenchman's-Bay, in Sierra-Leon-River, one John Cumberbuſh, a Mollato, ſent his canoe, with his chief ſlave, to give immediate notice thereof to Meſſrs. John Freeman and Henry Glynn, the Company's chief and ſecond agents at that fort; whereupon Richard Emberley, mate of the Spy brigantine, in the ſaid Company's ſervice, did propoſe to ditto Freeman, that, for the greater ſecurity,

ſecurity, the Company's beſt effects in the ſaid fort ſhould be put on board the ſaid brigantine, and that he, the ſaid Emberley, would engage to convey them ſafely into another river, where both the ſhip and cargo might be in full ſecurity, and out of all danger of receiving any damage from the French. There were likewiſe, at the ſame time, a ſmall ſloop, a long-boat, a petty-anga, and ſeveral canoes belonging to the Company, then at the fort, which, together with the ſaid brigantine, were ſufficient to have carried off the Company's effects: but ditto Freeman, for reaſons which have ſince that time appeared very obvious, would by no means be perſuaded to let any of the Company's goods be carried off the iſland.

On the day immediately following (being the 3d of July) there appeared in ſight of the ſaid fort ſeveral large boats full of Frenchmen, with deſign to make ſome attempt upon the iſland; whereupon all the Company's white men and Gromettoes were ordered to their arms, and the gunner of the fort firing ſharply upon the boats, drove the enemy to the back part of the iſland, where they then deſigned to land; but Capt. Thomas Kearfoot, with his ſoldiers, meeting them there, and firing upon them with ſmall arms, the enemy rowed clear off from the iſland; but while the captain and his ſoldiers were thus employed upon the back part of the iſland, the governor, ditto Freeman, and his ſecond, ditto Glynn, with ſeveral white men who were Freeman's creatures, quitted their poſts, and ran away from the fort, without giving the leaſt notice thereof to the ſaid captain. The French lay all that day upon their oars, at a great diſtance, and having (as is informed) had intelligence by one formerly employed by ditto Freeman, that the white men

(meaning the Engliſh) had deſerted the fort, they, taking the advantage of that news, came the next day with a ſtronger force, took the iſland, carried off the Company's effects, with many of their ſlaves, and demoliſhed the fort; all which might have been ſaved, if ditto Freeman and Glynn had, according to their duty, ſtayed and encouraged the ſoldiers and others who happened to be there at the time. But as it appears manifeſtly, by the 6th and 10th articles of the firſt chapter, how treacherous ſervants they have been to the Company, in dealing all along clandeſtinely with the ſeparate traders, ſelling and diſpoſing of great quantities of the Company's cam-wood, elephants teeth, and other goods, and converting the produce thereof to their own uſes: they thought this was a ſhort way of accounting and clearing with the Company; and as they are now moſt inveterate enemies to the Company, ſo are they of courſe among the darling myrmidons of the ſeparate traders.

It is obſervable, in relation to the forts and powers of European nations on the north coaſt of Guinea, that the Royal African Company had always the aſcendant, and were too hard for the French Company, until the French King interpoſed with a ſuperior force; which, together with the great diſcouragements that they meet with at home, and, by means of the ſeparate traders, abroad too, obliges them as yet to truckle, in a great meaſure, to the French, the Dutch, the ſeparate traders, yea, and their own treacherous ſervants alſo, who, at this time, make up a conſiderable number of the latter: ſo that indeed the Company can have no hopes of ever raiſing their heads again, nor of the trade's flouriſhing, but by ſome uniform management, under the happy influence

fluence and protection of the Queen and Parliament.

But to return to the Gold-Coaſt.

To the end that I might not be impoſed upon in my own judgment, nor be any way an inſtrument of impoſing upon the nation, I have made particular enquiry into what might be the eſtimated charge of building ſuch forts as the Company have there, upon the ſuppoſition that no ſuch forts were now exiſtent; and by the joint eſtimation of ſeveral capable perſons, who have been ſome years in the Company's ſervice upon that coaſt, and are ready (if required) to avouch the ſame to the Parliament, the following ſcheme is, by their allowance, offered to publick view.

			Men		Ys	Ms
The building of	Dickies-Cove	would employ about	100	for	1	6
	Succundee		100		1	6
	Commenda		150		1	6
	Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle		500		7	0
	Fort-Royal		100		1	0
	Anniſham		50		0	6
	Annamaboe		100		1	6
	Agga		50		1	0
	Winnibah		100		2	0
	Accra		150		2	0
	Whidah		150		2	0
	James Fort, Gambia		250		2	0
	Sherbrow-Fort		100		1	6

As to the materials for building, there are to be had in Guinea, oyſter-ſhells to make lime, though bought of the natives at great rates, as alſo timber and planks; but out of Europe comes lead, tarras, iron-work, proviſions, ſtores, and all other neceſſaries, as alſo artificers of all ſorts, with working-tools, &c. the continued charge whereof, with that of tranſport-ſhips, and the needful recruits of men to ſupply the places of ſuch conſi-

derable numbers as commonly die there, by reaſon of the contagiouſneſs of the climate, together with the expence of great guns, ſmall arms, ammunition, &c. muſt needs amount to very great ſums of money, far exceeding the 150,000 *l.* at which the Company very moderately eſtimated their preſent forts and ſettlements, as the foundation of a new ſubſcription, providing the wiſdom of the Parliament think fit now to ſettle the trade to Africa upon the foot of a conſtitution ſuitable to the nature and circumſtances thereof.

In making an eſtimate of the charge of theſe forts, regard muſt be had to the having about 600 officers and ſoldiers for manning them, 200 artificers of all ſorts, beſide labourers, for keeping them in repair, and four or five veſſels conſtantly on the coaſt, ſubſervient to the aforeſaid ends.

I ſhall now proceed to give ſome remarkable inſtances of the uſefulneſs of theſe forts to the ſeparate traders themſelves, and of ſeveral diſaſters which happened to private traders in places where the Company have no forts.

1. For fortifying, and indeed improving one of the inſtances which I gave formerly in the 94th page of this volume, I refer the reader to the following affidavit.

MIDDLESEX. THomas Camp, of the pariſh of Stepney, alias Stebon-Heath, in the county of Middleſex, aged about 30 years, maketh oath, that in September 1702 he was gunner of the Royal African Company's fort at Whidah, about which time came into the Road of Whidah a 10 per cent. ſhip, called the Betty of Barbadoes, which, after having got her complement of ſlaves aboard, to the number of about 300, was there taken by a French ſhip, of about 40

guns as he believes; upon which the Company's officers of the ſaid fort ſent ſome men armed to the water-ſide, which is three miles from the ſaid fort, and ſeized the French chief and ſecond, and brought them priſoners to the fort, where they were detained until the ſhip Betty and all her ſaid ſlaves, cargo and men, were reſtored to the captain.

And this deponent farther ſaith, that both the French and Dutch that are ſettled on that coaſt have oftentimes endeavoured, by large promiſes and great encouragements, to entice him and ſeveral others from the Company's ſervice, and verily believes that both French and Dutch take all opportunities to leſſen the Britiſh intereſt on the coaſt of Guinea, and would not ſuffer the Engliſh to trade thither, were it not for the Company's forts.

And this deponent farther ſaith, that the ſeparate traders on the coaſt, during the time he was there, from 1700 to 1705, did advance the prices of Negroes double what they were, and ſunk the prices of Engliſh goods very much of the prices they were commonly ſold for at his firſt being upon the coaſt, and farther ſaith not.

THO. CAMP.

Jurat, 14 die Februarii, anno Dom. 1708-9, coram me.

JOHN PERY.

2. In the year 1704-5, Captain Minot, a private trader, being forced a-ſhore, by ſtreſs of weather, about a mile from Winnebah, one of the Company's forts, the governor of that fort went out with his ſoldiers, and reſcued all the ſlaves, cargo and ſhip's company out of the hands of the natives,

natives, who had violently ſeized the ſame; and he made returns home to England for the uſe of the owners, which otherwiſe had been totally loſt.

3. In the year 1706, Captain Obrian, a ſeparate trader, being in Winnebah-Road, his Negroes roſe upon him, whereof notice being given to the governor of that fort, he immediately ſent off ſome of his garriſon, who quelled the Negroes, and thereby ſaved the ſhip and cargo.

4. In the year 1704-5 there were 11 ſail of ſhips (whereof five ſhips belonged to private traders) ſaved under the protection of Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle from ſeveral French men of war, which came to that road, with deſign, it ſeems, to inſult the caſtle, and ſeize what ſhips and goods they could find thereabouts; but by a continual firing from the fort they were forced to go off, re infecta.

5. In the year 1701-2, Captain Lewis, a private trader, was, in time of peace, taken upon the Quaqua Coaſt, by the Negroes; they came aboard his ſhip, forced her aſhore, plundered all the cargo, and kept ſome of his men priſoners there for ſeveral years. The reaſon of their having ſeized and uſed Captain Lewis's ſhip after this manner, was becauſe Captain Francis, Captain Gill, and Captain Davies, three ſeparate traders, had ſome ſhort time before ſeized, and violently taken ſeveral of the chief Negro traders, with their goods, off the coaſt.

6. Captain Ruſt, in the ſhip the Neptune, being forced on ſhore by a French ſhip of ſuperior force, at Cape Apollonia, the natives ſtript him and his men, wounded and otherways barbarouſly uſed them, and ſeized all the ſhip's cargo, notwithſtanding he had traded with the natives themſelves the day before, and all this for want of a fort to protect

protect them. There are two perſons now here in town who were ſufferers in the aforeſaid barbarity.

7. Captain Charles Cook, a private trader from Carolina, having gone up the River Gambia too far beyond the immediate influence of the caſtle, and happening to fall ſo ſick that he was forced to go aſhore, leaving the management of the ſhip to his ſuper-cargo, 14 Negroes (diſtinguiſhed there by the name of Fidalgoes and Gallawars) came aboard under the pretence of trading. Each of them having a large knife in the ſleeve of his coat, they placed themſelves ſo by the Engliſh, that upon giving the word (comon, comon) they ſtabbed and killed all the ſhip's crew, ſave only one man and a boy, who jumped overboard, and ſo ſaved their lives by ſwimming. This appears by a letter of the 24th of January 1706-7, to Colonel Gavin Corbin, the Royal African Company's agent in Virginia.

8. Captain Morgan, a private trader from Jamaica, was ſurprized near the ſame place, and much after the ſame manner; as appears by ditto Cook's letter aforementioned.

9. In the year 1701-2, Captain Eterſon and Captain Cook, with ſeveral other private traders, were forced aſhore on the coaſt of Angola, for want of a fort to defend them from the enemy; as appears by the report prepared by the Lords Commiſſioners for trade and plantations, upon the Company's petition to her Majeſty the laſt year.

10. By a letter of the 7th of April 1698, from Captain John Hereford, of the ſhip Fortune, then at Cabenda, on the Angola Coaſt, and another letter of the 15th of April 1702, from Captain William

William Read, of the Company's ſhip the Canterbury, then at Callabar, they charge the ſeparate traders, particularly Captain Cuning, Captain Crow in the Anthony galley, Captain Hazlewood, Abraham Evans in the Humphrey galley of Briſtol, one Carnaby in a ſmall ſhip called the Hunter, and others, not only with unaccountable methods in deſtroying any hopes of carrying on a regular and ſafe trade in thoſe parts, unleſs forts and ſettlements be eſtabliſhed there, but likewiſe with very groſs and barbarous acts of inhumanity, ſeizing and taking away with them all the Negroes whom they could ſurprize along the coaſt, robbing canoes on the water, forcing women, boys and girls along with them from the ſhore, ſhooting at boats, and killing ſuch Negroes as refuſed to anſwer their call; and that, in revenge, the natives had deſtroyed ſeveral white men, and ſeized ſuch goods as fell within the reach of their power.

Some few general reflections on the aforeſaid particulars.

AFTER that Æſop's wolf had put on ſheep's clothing, he remained a wolf ſtill: the changing of names ſeldom or never alters natural qualities. We ſee that the generous indulgence and unreſtrained liberty and permiſſion which the Parliament thought fit, in the year 1697, to grant to all her Majeſty's ſubjects, indiſtinctly, to trade to Africa for the term of 13 years, they paying a duty of 10 per cent. to the Royal African Company, falls ſo far ſhort of anſwering the chief end propoſed thereby, viz. the ſecurity, preſervation and im-

improvement of that trade, that though the ſeveral names of pirates, buccaneers, interlopers, and ſuch like, on the coaſt of Africa, ſeem to be of late in a great meaſure forgotten, as paſſing all now under the gentle and mild name of ſeparate traders to Africa, yet it ſeems too many of them have ſtill retained their former qualities, ſo far that they not only perſevered in the ordinary courſe of their former practices of plundering, ſtealing, and ſometimes killing, but have alſo been the inſtruments of infecting others by their evil communication and corrupt examples; for in many caſes it ſo happens, that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." God forbid that all the ſeparate traders ſhould fall under the ſame predicament; but however it is a dangerous thing to be frequently in bad company.

It is a common, though uncharitable obſervation (how true I know not) that few women have virtue enough to reſiſt the temptations of opportunity and importunity: I would gladly entertain much more honourable thoughts of the fair ſex. However, I am pretty well aſſured that the Royal African Company have very ſenſibly felt, to their coſt, that opportunity and importunity have made more rogues and thieves than one in their ſervice, theſe 12 years paſt. I own that, in all great undertakings of that kind, great truſt muſt be given to many perſons of ſeveral qualities in their reſpective ſtations; and were there a regular ſociety formed and eſtabliſhed, with ſuitable privileges, and a coercive power to do themſelves and others juſtice on the coaſt of Africa, ſuch a ſociety might very reaſonably, in all events, be made anſwerable for their own and their ſervants actions; and, in that caſe, there is no doubt but they would take ſpecial care

care to have ſervants of whoſe fidelity they would be very well ſatisfied. But while the trade of that extenſive coaſt is under a looſe and irregular adminiſtration, it is not to be expected but that, in ſo extended and remote a part of the world, where there is no court of law, equity or juſtice, where no regard is had to the rules of chriſtianity or morality, but every one doing what ſeemeth good in his own eyes, ſeveral perſons have, by the aforeſaid means, been tempted to prove treacherous to the truſt repoſed in them, who probably had never had ſo much as a thought of being ſo baſe and unworthy, if other perſons of different intereſts, as well as of vicious lives and principles, had not had an uncontrolable toleration to come there, and had thereby an opportunity of ſeducing and debauching the former, both by importunity and example, yea, and with an aſſurance of impunity alſo, by tranſporting not only their perſons, but likewiſe ſuch of the Company's effects committed to their truſt as they pleaſed to call their own, and altering the property thereof in ſuch manner that the Company can ſcarcely ever expect to get any fair or tolerable account of them; and indeed tranſgreſſors of that kind (as the like happens in many other caſes) do commonly pick German quarrels with the Company, chiefly to be a pretence for not adjuſting or clearing with them; yet, to juſtify one ill act by committing another, ſuch perſons ſeldom fail of becoming the worſt of enemies.

I am perſuaded few who read this, together with the firſt part of theſe Reflections, deliberately, will ever have the leaſt regard to any of theſe perſons clamorous and groundleſs ſuggeſtions againſt the Company, and much leſs (I hope) will they

they be for continuing ſo very valuable a branch of our foreign trade, as that to Africa is, any longer under a looſe and irregular adminiſtration, in the hands of an undefinable heteroclite body, conſiſting of ſuch heterogeneous parts as can never give any tolerable account of either their own or other peoples proceedings in that trade; but that the wiſdom of the Parliament may now think fit to ſettle it upon ſuch a fixed and ſolid conſtitution as may render it a durable, creditable and advantageous trade to Britain, and the plantations thereunto belonging, is the hearty wiſh of

PHILO-BRITANNUS.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa,

THROUGH

The whole Courſe and Progreſs thereof, from the Beginning of the laſt Century, to this Time.

WHEREIN

The Nature and uncommon Circumſtances of that TRADE are particularly conſidered, and all the Arguments urged alternately by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now propoſed by them, for carrying on the ſame to a national Advantage, impartially ſtated and diſcuſſed.

BY ALL WHICH

A clear View is given of ſuch a Conſtitution, as (if eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament) would, in all Probability, render the AFRICAN Trade a permanent, creditable and advantageous Trade to BRITAIN.

PART III.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenſura columbas.
Horum ſimplicitas miſerabilis, his furor ipſe
Dat veniam. ——————

JUVENAL.

PREFACE.

WERE it poſſible to be aſſured, that all perſons to whoſe hands the ſeveral trifling pamphlets and papers, publiſhed on behalf of the ſeparate traders to Africa, have or may come, had read and conſidered the Firſt and Second Parts of theſe Reflections, it is probable I had not given myſelf the trouble of writing, nor others that of reading this Third Part; but indeed that being an accident rather to be wiſhed for than depended upon, I think myſelf in ſome meaſure obliged, for the vindication of truth, as well as in ſelf-defence, to publiſh the following ſheets, as a reply to, and, in my humble opinion, a manifeſt confutation of, all that hitherto has been, or probably ever will be, with any reaſonable pretence, urged by any of the pamphleteers for an open trade to Africa, againſt the certainty of the ſeveral poſitions, conſiderations and arguments contained in the aforeſaid Firſt and Second Parts, for ſettling that trade upon the foot of an excluſive joint-ſtock conſtitution.

Many people have, it ſeems, entertained a notion (which I find is induſtriouſly propagated by the ſeparate traders, with a ſiniſter and injurious deſign) that the preſent conſtitution of the Royal African Company is ſuch a conſtitution as is there pointed at and pleaded for, or at leaſt that they enjoyed the whole trade, excluſive of all others, till the act of Parliament for laying that trade open in 1698 took place, which is a great miſtake; for, as it is certain that the interlopers have been

tolerated ever ſince the Revolution, ſo it will appear, by the following ſheets, that the excluſion which the ſaid Company enjoyed, for ſome few years, before that time, did happen to prove rather a ſnare than any real advantage to them in the end, ſince their charter was not confirmed by act of Parliament; and yet it is demonſtrably apparent, by the contents of the third chapter of this Third Part, that, had it not been for that charter, and the Company's induſtry, care and application in purſuing the ends thereof, at a very great charge and expence, the trade to Africa had, in all human probability, been long ago irrecoverably loſt to this nation, without having had ſo much as a juſt notion of the value of what we had loſt: ſo that, by their moſt ſucceſsful endeavours, during the ſhort time that they enjoyed the benefit of an excluſion, they have, undeniably, at leaſt laid the foundation of preſerving the trade hitherto.

However, when firſt I ſet pen to paper, on the ſubject-matter of theſe Reflections (which was but ſome few months ago) I entered my proteſtation, that what I chiefly aimed at was to give ſome reaſonable and impartial view of ſuch things as, I humbly apprehended, might be conducive towards ſettling the African trade upon ſome fixed and ſolid national conſtitution, without any direct or immediate regard to the caprice, humour or deſigns of particular perſons, or to the particular diſpute between the Royal African Company and ſeparate traders, concerning their ſeveral and reſpective private intereſts.

Purſuant to which reſolution I calculated the laſt five chapters of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections, wherein are contained ſeveral plain and concluding arguments, demonſtrating the many national

national advantages of carrying on the trade to Africa by a joint-ſtock, to be raiſed upon the foot of an excluſive parliamentary conſtitution; and all theſe arguments (though publiſhed upwards of two months ago) have hitherto ſtood the field, without being, in the leaſt, ever attacked by any of the pamphleteers for an open trade.

But in giving an hiſtorical account of the progreſs of the trade to Africa theſe hundred years paſt, together with a view of the preſent ſtate thereof, both abroad and at home, I could not well have omitted the ſubject-matter of the diſpute between the preſent Company and ſeparate traders, and therefore, to make the work as compleat as I could (according to the beſt of my underſtanding) I gave an account of the ſtate of that caſe, in the ſecond and third chapters of the ſaid Firſt Part of theſe Reflections, and that too in ſuch a manner as ſtands as yet unconfuted, though very weakly cavilled at in a late ſcurrilous libel, entituled "Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet called Reflections, &c." compoſed chiefly of a confuſed undigeſted collection of all the romantick ſtories formerly publiſhed on behalf of the ſeparate traders, and againſt the Company; for a reply to which, and a full and clear vindication of the ſaid Reflections, the reader is referred to the contents of the firſt chapter of the following ſheets, wherein I own I have ſhewn too much regard to the Remarker's frivolous amuſements, inſtead of arguments, by anſwering them ſo very particularly, paragraph by paragraph.

And that it may be ſeen how juſtly I repeat the Remarker's pretended arguments, I have prefixed a capital *R.* to each of them, as I have prefixed a capital *A.* to my own anſwers, and prefixed alſo double comma's to ſuch falſe quotations as he pretends to have excepted out of the Reflections, &c.

In the ſecond chapter, the reader will ſee the amount of ſuch teſtimonies and declarations as were given in evidence on behalf of the preſent African Company and ſeparate traders alternately, before a committee of the honourable Houſe of Commons, with an account of ſome remarkable occurrences which have contributed very much to the reducement of the Company's ſtock, &c. And the laſt chapter conſiſts chiefly of arguments ſhewing the impracticability of carrying on and preſerving the trade to Africa by any other method whatſoever than that of an excluſive joint-ſtock, together with ſome propoſals for a national parliamentary conſtitution upon that foot, calculated with due regard to the preſent circumſtances of the Royal African Company, the ſeparate traders, and the plantations, and for the general intereſt of all her Majeſty's ſubjects.

Now, upon the whole matter, I am very ſenſible that it is a misfortune to any one to be, either directly or indirectly, concerned in a diſpute which obliges him, either in ſelf-defence or otherways, to have recourſe to perſonal altercations or recriminations, and I profeſs ſincerely it is what I would willingly ſhun, upon all occaſions, with all my heart and ſpirit; but there are ſome ſort of men in the world who cannot be dealt with otherways than by fighting them at their own weapons; and as I have, by degrees, been involved in this diſpute far beyond my firſt intention, ſo, had I abruptly relinquiſhed it before the Parliament give a deciſive ſtroke in the chief point ſtill controverted, my ſilence might probably be conſtrued to the prejudice of that ſide whoſe part I took, otherways I ſhould ſcarcely have been at the trouble of taking the Remarker to pieces, as I have done.

RE-

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Conſtitution and Management

OF THE

AFRICAN TRADE, &c.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

A defence of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections againſt ſome inſignificant cavils and invidious ſuggeſtions contained in a late ſcurrilous libel, entituled "Some Remarks on a late Pamphlet called Reflections, &c."

IT is a hard caſe for any man (eſpecially one moderately diſpoſed) to be driven to the neceſſity of ſaying or publiſhing any thing which may ſeem to favour either of vanity or oſtentation on the one ſide, or of contumely and

diſdain on the other: but ſince the debate now in hand is for no leſs prize than the taking proper meaſures, at ſo critical a juncture, for the preſervation and improvement of ſo valuable a branch of our foreign trade, as that to Africa is to this kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging, and ſince the generality of mankind are at ſo little pains to render themſelves capable judges of what is truly reaſon, or juſt and fair reaſoning, in moſt diſputed caſes which happen, otherways than as they judge of a battle fought in Flanders, that he that keeps the field longeſt gains the day; ſo therefore having, ſince the publiſhing of the Second Part of theſe Reflections, ſeen a ſcurrilous libel, entituled "Some Remarks on a Pamphlet called Reflections, &c." it would be, in ſome ſenſe, a betraying of that national cauſe, which, inſtead of a better advocate, I have adventured to maintain (and I hope pretty ſucceſsfully too) in the Firſt and Second Parts of theſe Reflections, if, by a profound ſilence, I ſhould ſeem to acquieſce with the abuſive aſperſions, delirious apparitions, groſs inconſiſtencies, and fallacious computations, with which this mighty champion for an open trade to Africa has now (probably as his laſt effort) made a ſhift to black two ſheets of paper, with deſign (if poſſible) to impoſe his own and confederates vain dreams upon the nation; to prevent which, I will ſoon diveſt him of all his falſe, though gilded armour, and leave him then expoſed to the naked view of all indifferent ſpectators.

The firſt thing, it ſeems, which puzzled this champion was, what title to give his mighty work, for, on the title page, he calls it "Some Remarks, &c." but, on the top of the next leaf, he calls it "An Anſwer, &c." Now, whether this

this was occaſioned through the wandering confuſion of his perplexed thoughts, the treachery of his memory, or with a double-faced deſign, I will allow himſelf to determine; but to call it "An Anſwer to the Reflections, &c." he might almoſt as properly have called it "An Anſwer to the Jewiſh Talmud, or the Turkiſh Alcoran." I am certain "Fronti nulla fides" was never more juſtly applied, than to the difference that is between this libel and the title which the author himſelf gave it, as "An Anſwer, &c." However, ſince this champion's courage has failed him ſo far, as not to dare to make the leaſt attack upon any one ſingle ſentence, line or word of any of all the five laſt chapters of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections (which indeed is by very much the moſt material and ſignificant part of the book, as I intimated in the preface thereof) but has exhauſted all his little ſtock of ammunition in making remarks only upon ſome few fragments of theſe two chapters, in which the particular diſpute between the preſent company and the ſeparate traders, about their ſeveral and reſpective private intereſts, is ſpecially conſidered, I ſhall henceforward diſtinguiſh him by the denomination of Remarker only, and refer it to the judicious reader to determine which of us two is the faireſt diſputant, and moſt faithful repeater of each other's poſitions and arguments.

The Remarker, as a ſpecimen of his ſkill in grammar and rhetorick, uſhers in his accurate remarks with this prologue: *R.* As people of buſineſs have not the time to throw away as the African Company's writer, ſo I ſhall only take notice of, &c.

A. Thanks to good Mr. Remarker, for this implicit acknowledgment, in the firſt place, that my

my performance (ſuch as it is) ſeemed to him to have been done with ſo much care, conſideration and circumſpection, that it could not but have been the work of time; whereas his remarks, being only the haſty productions of his own infallible noddle, amidſt the great hurry and confuſion of his mighty buſineſs, we muſt even take them as we find them: moſt certainly a very fine piece of work! But alas, ſome people are ſuch ſtubborn infidels as not to believe one tittle even of what he ſays in his title page.

R. The author, in his preface, diſowns himſelf, either a member of the African Company or a ſeparate trader (I ſuppoſe he means, to Africa.)

A. Moſt certainly true

R. And by his writing, it is plain he never was a trader or a man of buſineſs.

A. Moſt certainly a very bad conſequence: yea, if the Remarker, or any other for him, can infer that concluſion naturally from the premiſſes, I will inſtantly give up the cauſe, and moreover (which would be doing a horrid violence on my own belief) acknowledge that all that he writes is true. But as his buſineſs cannot allow him time to trouble his head with the rules of logick and fair reaſoning, ſo it is no buſineſs of mine, at preſent, to confute or gratify him, by giving any poſitive diſtinguiſhing characters of myſelf.

R. With what aſſurance then can ſuch a perſon ſet up to decide a controverſy in oppoſition to the judgment of the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of trade? &c.

A. Hey day! what's here? Why truly, a new project of Mr. Remarker's own invention; the word Monopoly has run ſo in his head of late, that, to out-do all other monopolies whatſoever, he has (it ſeems) formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a

monopoly of all reaſon and common ſenſe. What! would he have an arbitrary reſtraint upon the exerciſe of all our intellectual and ſenſitive faculties? Yes, that he would, and confine all manner of knowledge and experience in commercial affairs to the lords commiſſioners for trade, at leaſt ſo long as he thinks their opinions may ſeem to have any tendency againſt an excluſive conſtitution of the trade to Africa, and conſequently for an unreſtrained liberty to himſelf and his confederates to ramble and ſcramble along the coaſt of Africa as they pleaſe. Well, of all the fulſome pieces of flattery that ever I heard of, to ſerve a preſent turn, this tacit implication of the Remarker's ſupercilious queſtion, and what he expreſsly ſubjoins thereto, ſeems to deſerve the firſt place! But, beyond all peradventure, the noble lords and honourable gentlemen of that commiſſion know better things, than to ſuffer themſelves to be wheedled into any untenable opinion, by the empty paraſitical inſinuations of this trifling Remarker. We know that they are perſons of diſtinguiſhed parts and characters, otherwiſe certainly they had never been named in ſuch a commiſſion; yet I ſuppoſe the Remarker will not ſay that any of them is either "a Member of the African Company, or a ſeparate trader to Africa;" ſo that, if that bare negative were a good argument to render me incapable of reaſoning on the points now in debate, it would certainly import ſomething even againſt their lordſhips likewiſe; but as it is altogether frivolous, and of a piece with the reſt of his arguments, I will only adviſe him, as a friend, to go back again to ſchool, and learn the propriety of his mother-tongue (if he is an Engliſhman) and at leaſt ſome of the common rules of reaſoning, before he adventure to appear again in print.

R. But

R. But before I proceed farther, I cannot but take notice of one aſſertion in page 18 of this pamphlet *.

A. Here the Remarker, to ſhew us how nimbly he can dance an entry (his Chriſtmas gambols not being as yet quite out of his head) jumps all at once over no leſs than 17 pages of the folio pamphlet which he pretends to anſwer. Well jumped Mr. Remarker, and well anſwered too! However, if the reader thinks not fit to take the Remarker's own word for it, I will be ſurety for him, that the contents of all theſe 17 pages are fully anſwered in the title page of his comprehenſive Remarks; yea, it muſt be conſidered father, that he is a man of buſineſs, and loves brevity.

R. The writer very unjuſtly calumniates the lords commiſſioners of trade, and affirms a moſt notorious untruth, in theſe words, "Nor could "the ſeparate traders reſt ſatisfied till they had "prompted the commiſſioners for trade to de-"mand from the Royal African Company an "account of the value of their ſtock, &c." In anſwer to which, the ſeparate traders never were with any of the lords of trade, nor were any of their perſons ever known to their lordſhips, till a long time after theſe accounts were demanded, &c.

A. Any one might naturally have thought that, after ſo ſupercilious a prologue, the Remarker would not have leaped over full 17 pages, meerly to catch flies with his cob-web remarks; yea, in the very reciting of this fragment of a paragraph of the aforeſaid 18th page, he has, as a new proof of his uſual ingenuity, filched out the word (here) which ought to be placed immediately after the word (ſatisfied) and implies that this was an act poſterior to ſeveral other acts with which the ſeparate

* Vide page 110 of this volume.

parate traders were charged; and indeed, without reading both the preceding and ſubſequent parts of that 18th page itſelf, and conſidering its coherence with the contents of ſeveral of the foregoing pages, this fragment muſt ſeem but imperfect, and of little importance. However, ſince he denies the fact, and labours mightily to exculpate all the ſeparate traders from that charge, it is not worth my while to purſue it any farther, though I will reſerve the conſideration of that particular point, till we come to examine the qualities of thoſe whom he calls ſeparate traders, in a ſubſequent remark, referring the reader, in the mean time, to the contents of the lords commiſſioners' own report, and the Royal African Company's general obſervations and particular remarks thereupon, given in to their lordſhips in January laſt.

But alas! the Remarker's real plot, in this and his former paragraph, is covered with too thin a veil not to be eaſily diſcovered; for, in the former, he thought to provoke me to enter into a competition of judgments with the lords commiſſioners for trade: no, he muſt look for catching woodcocks ſomewhere elſe, for my concern in this diſpute has not as yet hurried me on into ſuch a degree of confuſion or forgetfulneſs, as not to remember that ſome of theſe commiſſioners are noble Peers, that others of them are worthy members of the honourable Houſe of Commons, and that their lordſhips ſentiments concerning the African trade lies now before the Parliament, who (without doubt) are the moſt competent judges of that or any thing elſe of that nature that can come before them. Then, in the latter-recited paragraph, he endeavours, with all the force of his rhetorick, to perſuade the aforeſaid lords commiſſioners that I have calumniated their lordſhips:

no, it was never in my temper to calumniate any one, and much leſs do I intend to begin with perſons of their diſtinguiſhed characters.

R. But as matters of fact are not proved from multitudes of words, but from demonſtration, ſo I ſhall make the anſwer to this pamphlet as ſhort as may be.

A. Clear the way, gentlemen! here comes Mr. Remarker's demonſtration, viz.

R. The ſeparate traders have not yet had occaſion, in this diſpute, to retire to ſophiſtry, falſe quotations of matter of fact, nor Billingſgate reaſoning, inſtead of truth.

A. In the name of myſtery, what means the Remarker by this jargon of words? If this be his demonſtration, I think it is but reaſonable that he ſhould have the credit of being its firſt inventor. Now I ſee Euclid was an old doating fellow; he could never have thought of ſuch a demonſtration as this: and ſince it is neither a mathematical nor a phyſical demonſtration, it muſt in juſtice be acknowledged to be the true lawful iſſue of the Remarker's own fertile brain; yea, I begin now to underſtand ſomething of his meaning by it, either he would indirectly inſinuate a vindication of the ſeparate trader's writings from the imputation of ſophiſtry, falſe quotations and Billingſgate reaſoning, or he would have people believe that the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections, &c. (which he pretends to anſwer) is full of ſuch agreeable embelliſhments; but he is wiſe enough not to diſcover which of theſe two he means, for that muſt be a ſecret to himſelf, till he make ſure of the publick reward that is due to him for having invented the aforeſaid demonſtration.

R. But

R. But to proceed; I obſerve, among other things, this author preaches much of the danger of the Dutch running away with the trade, which was the argument formerly uſed, while the French were laying the foundation of thoſe evils we now feel in our trade, and every thing elſe; and if the African Company are not the cauſe of loſing that trade, by their oppreſſions on the ſeparate traders, the Dutch never can do us any harm, &c.

A. Had the Remarker ſeen the 3d chapter of the Second Part of theſe Reflections, before he publiſhed this wiſe obſervation, and the terrible bug-bearing inſinuation therein contained, I have ſo much charity for him as to think that certainly he would have had the prudence to have kept it to himſelf, and ſaved me the trouble of pointing now to a place where he may find more than a ſufficient reply to it, by way of prevention. But if he muſt have my private ſentiments upon that head into the bargain, here I give them very freely. The politicks of France, for above a whole century together, aimed at no leſs than an univerſal monarchy, that is, an univerſal power over all the reſt of Europe, &c. The chief tendency of all the politicks of Holland, and the other United Provinces, during the aforeſaid time, and ever ſince, has been to graſp at an univerſal empire in point of trade, which (if obtained) would have a very near relation to an univerſal power; ſo that, where the great difference would be in the conſequences of either of theſe two, it is hard to pre-determine. It is undoubtedly Britain's intereſt, as it is that of all the reſt of Europe, to cruſh the one, and it is as certainly Britain's intereſt in particular not to give way to the other.

It is the opinion of many wiſer heads than mine, and it is mine too, in congruity with their's, that it

it is Britain's intereſt, eſpecially at this juncture, to be in ſtrict alliance with the Dutch, and as, at the ſame time, their own intereſt and common ſafety obliges them to be in alliance with us, ſo I hope their alliance and friendſhip may be always had and preſerved at a cheaper rate than that of complimenting them with the moſt valuable branch of our foreign trade. I own I am not ſo full of my compliments that way as the Remarker, for I have heard it often ſaid, that even "gold itſelf may be bought too dear;" and as I ever did, ſo I ever will, prefer what I think to be the intereſt of Britain, to that of either the French, Dutch, or any other nation whatſoever, without any regard to the cavilling inſinuations of this Remarker or any of his ſelf-deſigning confederates.

"Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos
"Ducit, & immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui."
OVID.

R. The aforeſaid author aſſerts, in his introduction, and in his account of the riſe of the trade to Africa, "that after 10 years experience of laying open this trade, the nation in general are no gainers thereby, and that the ſeparate traders computations, given in to the lords commiſſioners of trade laſt year, are (as he fancies) confuted by ſome of his judicious obſervations."

A. Well, it is no ſmall piece of drudgery to be obliged thus to ſkip backward and forward after this Remarker, who has as little regard to any method or order as he has to ſincerity or the common rules of fair reaſoning; and yet it is a greater plague ſtill to be eternally correcting ſo very uncorrigible a perſon as he is, in his falſe quotations, as well as in picking out ſome fragments only of parti-

particular ſentences, here and there, without any regard to the coherent parts, for at this rate nothing can eſcape being converted into nonſenſe, at the pleaſure of any ſuch critick as this Remarker is; which puts me in mind of a ſilly and ridiculous, as well as atheiſtical argument, uſed once by as great a libertine in matters of religion as the Remarker would be in matters of trade, to prove (abſit blaſphemia) that there was no God. This atheiſtical perſon would needs prove it, forſooth, by a fragment of a certain ſentence out of the firſt verſe of the 14th Pſalm, viz. "There is no God," never mentioning the immediate preceding part of the ſame verſe, viz. "The fool hath ſaid in his heart," which being prefixed to the aforeſaid fragment, makes it run in the excellent muſical ſtrain of the holy pen-man who wrote it thus, "The fool hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God." I ſhall be far from ſaying that the Remarker is any way the fool meant here by the Pſalmiſt; but I will allow him to continue, in Solomon's ſenſe, as wiſe in his own conceit as he thinks fit. I own that this may ſeem to be ſomewhat too lofty a compariſon; but it is as true that "omne ſimile eſt diſſimile."

Now the awkward dreſs in which the Remarker has patched together the fragments aforementioned, to anſwer his own diſtorted meaning (tho' little to his purpoſe) and his diſingenuity in diſtinguiſhing the ſame by Italick letters, to make it paſs for a fair quotation, will be beſt ſeen by comparing it with the original, which is too long, and indeed needleſs to be here recited.

R. In anſwer to which, thoſe computations are ſince confirmed by ſuch accounts as are come from the plantations, and proves, that the opening the trade hath been an annual benefit to the nation of

hundred thouſand pounds, by the vaſt difference of the increaſe, ſince the act for opening the ſaid trade, compared with the time of its being confined to a company when excluſive of all others, as will appear by and by.

A. That this anſwer is a meer fictitious dream, in all the parts thereof, will appear much ſooner than the Remarker's by and by, and that is, by a clear demonſtration which the reader will find in the 3d chapter of this Third Part of the Reflections; and I will aſſure the Remarker, in the mean time, that I have not ſtole any part of the ſaid demonſtration out of his ſingular demonſtration already recited, for I am not ſo covetous as to incroach upon what I think is any part of another man's property; and if he and his confederates were of the ſame temper, it is probable there had been no occaſion for this diſpute.

R. As to his offer, "Whether it is not for the "nation's intereſt to carry on the trade by ex- "cluding the ſeparate traders, and commit the "charge to a collective ſociety of his intelligent "people."

A. Here is a further inſtance of the Remarker's diſtorted method of reciting quotations, for in the 3d page of the introduction formerly mentioned *, I ſtated the main queſtion in debate expreſsly thus, "Whether, as we are now cir- "cumſtanced with relation to our foreign com- "petitors on the coaſt of Africa, it may be "thought more adviſeable, for the nation's inte- "reſt and advantage, to carry on that trade by a "collective ſociety of capable and intelligent "men, having one and the ſame joint-ſtock, in- "tereſt, deſigns, and uniform rules of govern- "ment and management, with excluſive privi- "leges,

* Vide page 81 of this volume.

" leges, &c. or by all ſuch perſons, indiſtinctly, " as have a mind to trade thither, when and how " they pleaſe, with ſeparate ſtocks, divided inte- " reſts, and different deſigns and rules of ma- " nagement?" But how faithfully the Remarker repeated it again, the reader may eaſily judge, by comparing this with the immediate preceding paragraph, as he recites it. I plodded on, in my dull way, and wrote ſix full chapters on all the ſeveral heads relating to the trade to Africa, with all the ſmall ſtock of reaſoning that I am maſter of, and then reſumed the ſame queſtion again in the 35th page of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections *, before I adventured to give any poſitive anſwer to that queſtion. However, the Remarker (it ſeems) thinks it all loſt time that has been beſtowed in writing any thing touching the nature and circumſtances of the trade, or the conſtitutions of foreign companies, or the examples of other nations, or any arguments founded upon the principles of common reaſon; for he takes not the leaſt notice of any of theſe, but very briefly, he being a man of buſineſs, and loving diſpatch, gives the following moſt pertinent, diſcreet, and comprehenſive anſwer; an anſwer truly worthy of the penman thereof!

R. In anſwer, it is demanded whether it is reaſonable to ſhut up all the linnen-drapers ſhops between Aldgate and Temple-Bar, and commit the charge of that trade to one perſon only; or ſafe to exclude 200 ſkilful merchants of Great-Britain and the Plantations, of good credit and reputation, well acquainted with this abſtruſe trade, the moſt beneficial of all others to the nation, and commit the charge thereof to a company excluſive (provided they are not bankrupts) and

* Vide page 145 of this volume.

but four of whoſe 24 managers are uſually merchants; the other collective intelligent perſons, as the author terms them, know not one word of trade, commerce, or any other buſineſs than what is practiſed in Exchange-alley.

A. I never heard that it was allowable, by the rules of fair reaſoning, to anſwer one queſtion by putting another, "retorquere non eſt reſpondere." There ought firſt to be a direct anſwer given to the queſtion firſt ſtated, and then retort and welcome: but the Remarker ſcorning (it ſeems) to ſubject himſelf to ſuch childiſh rules as are uſually taught to boys at ſchool, anſwers the queſtion firſt ſtated by putting three other queſtions (very pertinent ones no doubt) all in one breath, as they are recited in the preceding paragraph. This way of reaſoning, I confeſs, is new to me; however, ſince I am willing to learn of ſo great a maſter as the Remarker is, I hope he will allow me to follow his own worthy example in ſome meaſure; and, upon the ſuppoſition that he will agree to that preliminary, I will adventure to anſwer his three puzzling queſtions, thus:

1. Pray what affinity has the linnen-drapers ſhops between Aldgate and Temple-Bar to the nature and uncommon circumſtances of the trade on the coaſt of Africa? Have the French, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburghers and Portugueze any forts and caſtles between Aldgate and Temple-Bar? Are all, or any of the linnen-drapers within the aforeſaid limits, in any danger or fear of having their ſhops plundered, their throats cut, &c. by any of the aforeſaid nations, or their ſeveral barbarous allies, the natives of Africa, without the hopes of having juſtice done upon the criminals for the want of proper courts of judicature within the whole kingdom? and are they obliged to

to maintain conſtant garriſons and ſtanding forces, to prevent their being ſurprized every day and night in the year? Well, it is a happy thing to have a ſingular talent in ſtating parallel caſes! and I muſt own the Remarker is ſo very lucky that way, that it is pity he ſhould have the bad fortune to be always miſunderſtood by his dull readers.

2. Pray how many of the Remarker's "200 ſkilful merchants of Great-Britain and the Plantations, of good credit and reputation, well acquainted with this abſtruſe trade," have ſigned the ſeparate traders petition to the honourable Houſe of Commons? I am afraid they will be all comprehended (ſuch as they are) within the number 26, otherwiſe the copy which I ſaw of their petition was not a true one. Now I muſt beg the Remarker's leave to look a little back, and put him in mind of the apology which he made in his firſt remark on page 18, viz. "The ſeparate traders never were with any of the lords of trade, nor were any of their perſons ever known to their lordſhips, till a long time after thoſe accounts were demanded, and given in from the African Company," which, by the by, was but about 15 months ago at moſt. What, none of the perſons of theſe 200 ſkilful merchants, of good credit and reputation, and well acquainted with this abſtruſe trade, ever known to the lords commiſſioners for trade before the aforeſaid time! Pray, Mr. Remarker, let me adviſe you to keep that as a ſecret, let it be buried in oblivion, and never ſo much as once whiſpered again from this time forward, leſt it ſhould happen to come to the ears of ſome malicious perſon or other, who might be apt to make ſeveral impertinent inferences, and ſay, among other things, that they muſt all then be but a pack of very obſcure "What d'ye Call'ums."

Yet, as there is no general rule without an exception, I can aſſure you, Mr. Remarker, for your comfort, that I can name two very honeſt and worthy gentlemen who have traded to Africa, ſeparately, for ſome years paſt; and you know, honeſty is ſo ſcarce a commodity in this wicked age, eſpecially in your way of open trading to Africa (if the contents of the Second Part of theſe Reflections be true) that we ought to put a great value upon it wherever we find it.

As to the Remarker's 3d queſtion, I am ſo much in love with it that I muſt repeat it over again, viz. *R.* Whether it is reaſonable to commit the charge of this abſtruſe trade to a company excluſive (provided they are not bankrupts) and but four of whoſe 24 managers are uſually merchants, the other collective intelligent perſons, as the author terms them, know not one word of trade, commerce, or any other buſineſs than what is practiſed in Exchange-alley.

A. Since the Remarker has (it ſeems) ſuffered the tranſports of his fury and paſſion to get ſo far the aſcendant over all his reaſonable faculties, as to indulge the licentiouſneſs of his pen to the moſt extravagant degree imaginable, in the generality of all his aſſertions, it is no wonder if, inſtead of ſolid arguments to maintain theſe, he recurs now to calumny, ſlander and detraction, as the laſt refuge of all ſuch diſputants.

But to ſhew with how little regard to the common rules of decency, good manners, ſincerity or truth, he has preſumptuouſly endeavoured to traduce the characters of ſuch worthy gentlemen as the preſent managers of the Royal African Company, in general terms, meerly with deſign to anſwer his own indirect purpoſes at this juncture, I cannot forbear publiſhing to the world the

ſeveral

ſeveral names and deſignations of all the preſent members of the Court of Aſſiſtants of the aforeſaid Company, together with ſome few hints of their reſpective characters, as merchants and men of buſineſs; and if, in ſo doing, I may happen to commit any miſtake (ſince, upon my veracity, I do it without their privity or conſent) I hope the innocence and juſtice of my intention may, in ſome meaſure, plead my excuſe: and I will aſſure the Remarker, before-hand, that they are not ſuch obſcure perſons as he makes his 200 ſkilful merchants (the ſeparate traders) to be, when he apologizes for them, in ſaying, "That none of their perſons were ever known to the lords commiſſioners of trade, &c."

Nota, By the by, the Royal African Company's proper motto is

"Regio floret patrocinio commercium, commercioq; regnum."

Which may be rendered into Engliſh thus,

"As a kingdom flouriſheth by trade, ſo trade flouriſheth by having the countenance and protection of the Royal Sovereign."

King Charles II. as a mark of his royal favour and particular regard to the advancement of the African trade, beſtowed upon the company of adventurers the denomination of the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY OF ENGLAND. There ſeems to be ſomething of magnificence even in the very title itſelf, and ought to carry reſpect along with it; yea, ſtill the more, when it is conſidered that, to bear up the dignity of that title, the company, ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment, never, to this hour,

had any other than royal perſons as their governors.

Upon their firſt eſtabliſhment, in 1672, they choſe the Duke of York to be their governor, who continued to be ſo, from year to year, even after his acceſſion to the throne. After the abdication of King James, they choſe King William as their governor. Upon King William's death, his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark ſucceeded, and, ſince his Royal Highneſs's death, the general court of adventurers choſe the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty (whom God long preſerve) to ſucceed as governor for this year, and, I hope, ſhall continue ſo to be for many ſucceeding years yet to come.

Now, as to the gentlemen of the court of aſſiſtants, whom the Remarker points at, under the general name of managers, in his foul-mouth'd inſinuations.

Sir William Withers, knight and alderman, is ſub-governor of the company; he is well known to be a very eminent merchant, was lord-mayor of the city of London laſt year, and is now a member of the honourable Houſe of Commons.

Thomas Pindar, Eſq; deputy-governor, is alſo a merchant, in the conſtant practice of all matters relating to foreign and domeſtick trade, ever ſince he was a youth of about 15 or 16 years of age.

Note, That though theſe two gentlemen had ſerved out the ordinary time allowed by the company's by-laws, as ſub-governor and deputy-governor of the company, yet, by a ſpecial act of the general court of adventurers, they are continued in the ſame ſtations for this year likewiſe, in conſideration of their eminent ſervices to the company, as well as of their great knowledge and experience in all matters relating to the African

trade; and the low circumſtances of the company, both before and during the time of their adminiſtration, made their care ſo much the more needful.

Sir Jonathan Andrews, knight, is known to be a perſon ſingularly well verſed in the knowledge of all matters relating to ſhipping and navigation, and to the African trade in general, was for many years employed in the Eaſt-India trade abroad, has been, for ſeveral years ſince, a manager of that and the African trade at home, and is, at this time, a manager of the united Eaſt-India trade likewiſe.

Sir Thomas Cooke, knight and alderman. His character and ſingular ſkill in all matters relating to trade and buſineſs has been long ſince very obvious to this and ſeveral other nations; and he is a manager of the united Eaſt-India trade likewiſe.

John Cooke, Eſq; is ſon to the aforeſaid Sir Thomas Cooke, was bred a merchant in Spain, and is now a manager of the united Eaſt-India trade likewiſe.

John Cutting, Eſq; was bred a merchant in Italy, and is very well verſed in all matters relating to accounts and merchandizing.

Sir Francis Daſhwood, knight and baronet, is known to be a perſon well educated, and always converſant in buſineſs as a merchant; he is likewiſe a manager of the Eaſt-India trade, and is now a member of the honourable Houſe of Commons.

Sir William Fazakerley, knight, is publickly known to be a perſon well educated and verſed in buſineſs, and particularly in the knowledge and experience of buying all ſorts of goods proper for the African trade, and is preſent chamberlain of the

the city of London, which is known to be a place of great truſt and credit.

Mr. James Gohier was bred a merchant, and is particularly well verſed in the Weſt-India trade.

Sir William Humphreys, knight and alderman, is known to be well verſed, all his days, both in foreign and domeſtick buſineſs.

Urban Hall, Eſq; was bred a merchant, has been in the practice of merchandizing all his days; he lived ſome years abroad, has been many years a manager of the African trade, and has particular experience of what may concern the improvement thereof, in all the ſeveral branches of the ſame, and is a manager of the united Eaſt-India trade likewiſe.

Joſeph Jory, Eſq; was bred a merchant in the Weſt-Indies, a conſiderable planter, and for many years a manager of the African trade, inſomuch that he is known to be well verſed in moſt of all the branches of that valuable trade.

John Morgan, Eſq; a merchant from his infancy, is well known to be a man of great buſineſs in trade, and particularly well verſed in all matters relating to the African trade, as being many years a manager thereof.

Arthur Moor, Eſq; is a gentleman well known to be, for many years, verſed in variety of buſineſs of great conſequence, is a manager of the united Eaſt-India trade likewiſe, and a member of the honourable Houſe of Commons.

John Nicolſon, Eſq; well known to be a man of eminent ſkill in all matters relating to ſhipping and navigation, was ſeveral years employed in the Eaſt-India trade abroad, and has been ſince a manager of the African trade for many years.

Mr.

Mr. Steven Pendarves is a gentleman known to be well verſed in buſineſs, and is a preſent manager of the Eaſt-India trade likewiſe.

Mr. Philip Shephard was converſant in buſineſs from his infancy, and is well verſed in the knowledge and experience of buying all ſorts of goods proper for the African trade.

Mr. William Maſon has been always a man of very conſiderable buſineſs, and was lately high ſheriff of the county of Surrey.

William Lancaſter, Eſq; is a gentleman of approved capacity, induſtry and integrity, known to be always converſant in buſineſs of conſiderable conſequence, and is a manager of the Eaſt-India trade likewiſe.

Thomas Lake, Eſq; is a counſellor at law, has been many years a member of the Royal African Company; his liberal education and great induſtry has rendered him very knowing in all manner of buſineſs, and has ſerved in ſeveral other publick capacities of great truſt.

Sir James Grey, baronet, is a gentleman publickly known to be converſant in buſineſs of very conſiderable conſequence, both for himſelf and others, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, &c. for many years together, and is a manager of the Eaſt-India trade alſo.

Mr. William Elliot is likewiſe well known to be a man of very conſiderable buſineſs, for many years together, as he is ſtill to this hour, and the entireneſs of his character and reputation is very well known both in South and North-Britain.

Mr. John Campbell is a perſon whoſe character runs, as near as may be, parallel with that of Mr. Elliot above-named.

Note. Theſe three gentlemen, Grey, Elliot and Campbell, are natives of Scotland, which ſhews that,

that, in the election of perſons fitly qualified for being members of the court of aſſiſtants of the Royal African Company, there is no diſtinction made with regard to the natives of any part of the united kingdom; and theſe three perſons are known to have acquired conſiderable fortunes, chiefly by their own induſtry, capacity, and application to buſineſs, which is no great argument (as the Remarker would inſinuate) that they are ſtrangers to all manner of buſineſs.

Sir John Germain, baronet, is a gentleman of a conſiderable fortune, deeply concerned in the joint-ſtock of the company (as all the former are) and is known to have a great acquaintance and intereſt with the principal adventurers in the ſtock, and alſo with many perſons of the greateſt rank and quality in the kingdom; and his acquiſitions do ſufficiently denote his capacity for buſineſs.

John Duncomb, Eſq; is a gentleman well known to be converſant in publick and private buſineſs of great conſequence for many years together.

James Blake, Eſq; is a gentleman of a good fortune, deeply concerned in the joint-ſtock of the company, and is known to have a conſiderable acquaintance and intereſt with the principal adventurers in the joint-ſtock of the company, as well as with many perſons of the greateſt rank and quality, which, together with his liberal education, has ſufficiently qualified him for having a general knowledge in any buſineſs.

Note, That conſidering there are many perſons of ſeveral degrees, and of both ſexes, concerned in the joint-ſtock of the company, it was thought always reaſonable that the adminiſtration thereof ſhould not be wholly confined to the management of merchants only, and therefore the general court of

of adventurers thought fit, from time to time, to have a mixture of ſome other gentlemen of known parts and capacities, to be ſharers in the adminiſtration, for the more general ſatisfaction of all concerned; and as the reaſonableneſs thereof may ſufficiently appear from the contents of page 140, 141, and 142, of this volume, ſo we have the authority of that great maſter of trade, in all the ſpeculative and practical parts thereof, Sir Joſiah Child, for it, that any ſociety of trade, conſiſting of a mixture of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, is much more likely to anſwer the ends of an united and joint management, in matters of trade, than if it conſiſted of merchants only.

By this time, I hope, the reader may be fully ſatisfied as to the Remarker's diſingenuity in that ſcandalous general character under which he would have the managers of the Royal African Company to paſs, in the opinions of the ignorant and moſt undiſcerning part of mankind, and of ſuch others as have not had occaſion to be particularly acquainted with either the perſons or characters of theſe worthy gentlemen above-named.

Now, ſince I have endeavoured to gratify the Remarker's humour, by expoſing the names and characters of the aforeſaid 26 members of the court of aſſiſtants of the Royal African Company (whom he calls 24 managers) I hope I may claim the privilege of aſking him three modeſt queſtions, viz.

1. Will the Remarker be pleaſed to diſtinguiſh the names of ſuch of theſe 26 gentlemen as he thinks are bankrupts?

2. Will he likewiſe be pleaſed to diſtinguiſh the names of ſuch of them as know not one word of trade, commerce, or any other buſineſs than what is practiſed in Exchange-alley? (which is his learned

learned allegorical phraſe for what he and others commonly call ſtock-jobbing.) And,

3. Will he be pleaſed to ſubjoin his own name and deſignation, as owning himſelf to be the worthy author of thoſe characters which he ſo liberally beſtowed upon them, in his diſcreet queſtion aforementioned? No; I ſuppoſe he will not be covetous of having the honour to be exalted above the reſt of the people near Exchange-alley; but if he adventure to try the experiment, I hereby engage to ſubjoin my name to this and the two former parts of theſe Reflections.

But to return from this ſeeming digreſſion, I take it for granted that any intelligent and diſintereſted perſon whatſoever will, upon due conſideration of the reaſons formerly given in the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections, allow that the trade to Africa may be carried on, under one uniform and regular management, to much better purpoſes, in all reſpects whatſoever, than can poſſibly be done by any confuſed number of perſons, having divided intereſts and deſigns, as well as different and interfering rules of management; and this is that which I have, all along, undertaken to prove, by many concurring arguments, founded upon the uncommon nature and circumſtances of the trade to Africa, the common principles of reaſon, the experience of all ages, and the political topicks and univerſal practice of all other European nations: all which arguments the Remarker has thought fit (for brevity's ſake) to paſs over in ſilence, without ſo much as attempting to anſwer any one of them, otherwiſe than by raiſing a confuſed and unintelligible clamour and noiſe concerning the private diſpute between the preſent company and ſeparate traders to Africa only, which,

which, in my humble opinion, is a very imperfect and prepoſterous way of informing either houſe of parliament, in order to ſettle a national conſtitution ſuitable to the ſingular nature and uncommon circumſtances of that trade.

Yet however, ſince, in purſuing my main deſign, I have obliquely concerned myſelf in that private diſpute alſo, as being fully convinced that the company have been extremely injured in that matter, I will proceed (according to my conception of things) to conſider the merits of that diſpute, in all the parts thereof.

It is certain that contraries appear beſt by ſtating them oppoſite one to the other; and therefore, ſince the Remarker is pleaſed to diſtinguiſh the ſeparate traders by ſuch advantageous general characters, as that of "ſkilful merchants of good credit and reputation, well acquainted with this abſtruſe trade, &c." it is but fair and equal that the names of all the 27 merchants, ſeparate traders, from the port of London to the coaſt of Africa (as they call themſelves) who ſigned the petition lately given in to the honourable Houſe of Commons, be likewiſe inſerted here, to the end that the reader may be the better able to compare their ſeveral qualities, qualifications and characters (even jointly conſidered, though their meaſures be ſeparate) with that of the 26 gentlemen, managers of the Royal African Company, afore-named, and form a judgment accordingly.

The names of the aforeſaid petitioning ſeparate traders are:

Thomas Taylor	George Kelthorpe
John Lodington	Robert Brooke
Nicholas Goodwin	Edward Jeffreys
Benjamin Henſhaws	John Browne
	Peregrine

Peregrine Browne	William Lone
John Burridge, jun.	Thomas Lloyd
Humphrey Morris	Charles Kent
JAMES WAYTE	Richard Harris
Abraham Houlditch	Iſaac Millner
John Godman	Thomas Smith
John Radbourne	Peter Paggen
Benjamin Hatley	Joſeph Martin
Benjamin Bradley	Joſeph Smith.
Cornelius Dean	

For aught I can tell, of my own proper knowledge, all theſe may be very honeſt and capable gentlemen; but the truth is, I never ſpoke with any of them in the whole courſe of my life, and I ſhould be loth to give ſuch particular characters of any man (eſpecially in a publick manner, and upon the bare information of others) as I have heard of ſome of them; only thus far I will freely adventure to ſay, that (it ſeems) ſome of them have a greater liking to the African trade, than to the callings to which (as I am informed) they have been bred; and I have good ground to believe, that, upon enquiry, it will be found that ſome of them never made any entries of goods (at leaſt in their own names) for the coaſt of Africa, and are brought in, for company's ſake, meerly to join in the chorus againſt the company, as other petitions have been induſtriouſly procured (for the ſake of clamour only) from places and perſons who never traded to Africa ſince the beginning of the laſt century (whatever they did formerly) nor in all probability ever will, in our days. However, ſince I know that clamour makes no ſmall part of the Remarker's arguments, I will not rob him of any part of that too frequently ſucceſsful ingredient, but refer it to himſelf to print the names of

of theſe petitioning 27 ſeparate traders, and of the reſt of his 200 ſkilful merchants, with ſuch particular deſignations and reſpective diſtinguiſhing characters as he thinks they deſerve; for the truth is, I am not a fit perſon to give characters of them, becauſe there are ſome, even of the aforeſaid 27 petitioning ſeparate traders, of whom I have as yet got no manner of account, either good or bad, though I have made ſome enquiry; only let the Remarker take this ſhort memorandum along with him, as a poſition to be demonſtrated in the 3d chapter of this Third Part of theſe Reflections, viz. That whatever knowledge and ſkill the aforeſaid ſeparate traders, yea, or any of the reſt of her Majeſty's ſubjects have, or can juſtly pretend to have, of the true nature and circumſtances of the trade to Africa, the ſame is chiefly, if not wholly, owing to the ſole induſtry, care and ſedulous application of the Royal African Company, and thoſe whom they employed in the ſeveral qualities of generals, chiefs, agents, factors, correſpondents, maſters and navigators of ſhips, ſuper-cargoes, chirurgeons, ſecretaries, clerks, accomptants, book-keepers, caſhiers, ſtore and warehouſe-keepers, &c. either abroad or at home. And by what I can learn, few or none of theſe proved ever treacherous to the ſeveral and reſpective truſts repoſed in them by the company, before infractions were made upon the privileges of the company's charter; but then indeed the private traders came to have too tempting an opportunity of ſeducing the company's ſervants, as being the moſt effectual method they could think of, to ruin the company and compaſs their own private ends, which (to me at leaſt) ſeems to be a very unnatural kind of conſpiracy againſt a com-

pany, who (I am fully convinced) have been both the founders and preſervers of that trade to the nation.

R. In his chapter of the progreſs of the trade to Africa, he ſufficiently owns the continual inclinations of the nation for an open trade.

A. In that chapter I have (as I humbly apprehend) demonſtrated that the impracticability of carrying on and preſerving the trade to Africa, in an open method, was always the occaſion of eſtabliſhing companies, from time to time, with excluſive privileges, by charters under the great ſeal of England, and that, whenever infractions were made upon theſe privileges, the trade fell always of courſe into diſorders, and often came to be quite relinquiſhed, till ſome excluſive joint-ſtock company was again eſtabliſhed, according to the conſtant practice of all other European nations.

R. And 'tis well known, the means of obtaining the patent for an excluſive trade were very indirect, &c.

A. It is well known that the Remarker and his confederates have often endeavoured to amuſe the heedleſs multitude with invidious and ſcandalous ſuggeſtions of this kind, and it is as well known that they could never, to this hour, condeſcend upon, and much leſs prove, "in Græcas calendas," any one ſingle indirect ſtep taken for obtaining the Royal African Company's patent: but if people will ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon, by ſuch ridiculous ſuggeſtions as theſe, inſtead of ſolid arguments, "qui vult decipi decipiatur."

R. He urges that the company's exports in peace, when they were excluſive, were 70,000 *l.* value, which is much doubted.

A. No doubt, the Remarker thinks that his own affected doubting of the company's having made any ſuch exports as 70,000*l.* per ann. ought to paſs for a ſufficient confutation of that, and all other points of fact urged in favour of the company, in the 6th page of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections *, though he ſlurs all the reſt over in ſilence, and, according to his notable way of diſtorting the meaning of things for his own purpoſe, muſt needs add this qualification to what I urged, viz. "When they (the company) were excluſive, in time of peace," and from thence would inſinuate what he and his confederates have often endeavoured to inculcate elſewhere, viz. That the company enjoyed the benefit of their excluſive privileges in time of war too, till the act of parliament, 1697, though it is certain that they have not been excluſive, at any time, ſince the Revolution. And indeed, by the natural courſe of that trade, if it were upon the foot of an excluſive conſtitution, I ſee no material reaſon why our exports to Africa may not at all times be regulated, chiefly by the demand that ſhall happen to be for European goods on that coaſt, and for Negroes in the Weſtern Plantations, without any immediate regard to peace or war in Europe, becauſe the difference of freight and inſurance (if that were all) ought rather to be an argument for augmenting our exports in time of war.

But to let the world ſee with how little reaſon the Remarker ſeems to doubt of the reality of theſe exports, urged to have been made by the Royal African Company, conſtantly, while they had the trade excluſive, here are ſubjoined the particular yearly exports made by them for nine years together ſucceſſively, and immediately preceding

* Vide page 88 of this volume.

ceding the Revolution (excluſive of any other ſhips which traded then by the company's permiſſion) viz.

			£.	s.	d.
In anno	1680	the value of	46347	13	8
	1681		75188	15	11
	1682		89616	18	9
	1683		78028	18	0
	1684		54932	11	7
	1685		82346	0	1
	1686		66128	12	3
	1687		77695	11	3
	1688		65171	2	5
		Total	635456	3	11

which, in an average, makes more than 70,000*l.* per ann. and ſhews that the company's computations are not (as theſe made by the ſeparate traders are alwavs) made at random, but are ſtill within compaſs.

It is to be remembered likewiſe, that theſe goods were ſold to a great advance, about cent. per cent. and that the beſt of Negro ſlaves coſt then but about 3*l.* per head, or 3*l.* 10*s.* at moſt, and other African produce, ſuch as gold, &c. proportionably, which made the returns then incomparably more conſiderable than they have been ever ſince.

R. But if true, it appears, by an account of the 10 per cent. duty given in to the commiſſioners of trade to Africa, that the exports ſince the trade was laid open were 160,000*l.* value per ann. for two years in peace, and ſince the war near 70,000*l.* value per ann. in an average, which ſufficiently confirms the benefit of laying open this trade,

trade, as to the exportation of Britiſh manufactures.

A. By the immediate preceding ſection, it is evident that the Remarker's (but if true) might have been ſaved till ſome further occaſion. What he would have us underſtand by "the commiſſioners of trade to Africa," is, I muſt own, beyond the reach of my dull comprehenſion; ſurely he would not have the power of the lords commiſſioners for trade limited to the cognizance of ſuch matters as relate to the trade to Africa only! I always underſtood (and I ſtill believe it is ſo) that their lordſhips commiſſion was ſo extenſive as to entitle them to take cognizance of all matters relating to trade and plantations in general; but if the Remarker pleaſe to explain his meaning, I will willingly be informed, and acknowledge any miſtake that he can fix upon me.

Then, as to his account of exports, I remember that, in ſeveral places, he ſeems to value himſelf extremely upon his admirable ſkill in numbers, and I muſt do him ſo much juſtice as to acknowledge that he exerciſes his talent that way, eſpecially in addition and multiplication, to as much advantage as any man whatever can well do, when he thinks it may tend to the advancement of his cauſe; but that he magnifies the exports, and makes a vain brag of profit, when the contrary is too melancholy a truth, ſhall be clearly demonſtrated when I come to conſider his groſs computations upon thoſe heads.

R. It is urged likewiſe, as an inſtance of the benefit of this trade, that, when the company were excluſive, they flouriſhed, and made many dividends (hinc illæ lachrymæ) which is feared to be true, or elſe they had not been in ſuch a condition as they are in at preſent.

A. Well! one may as reaſonably hope to waſh a Negro white, as to reclaim this Remarker from the incorrigible habit that he has got of making falſe quotations, and giving wrong turns to the real and plain meaning of things, merely to anſwer his own diſtorted purpoſes. Here he would have the reader underſtand, that the lowneſs of the company's preſent condition is occaſioned by their having made large dividends of their capital ſtock, whereas the real occaſion thereof is of a quite contrary nature, as has been already, and ſhall be further clearly demonſtrated. But after having, in the 88th page of this volume, enumerated many ſpecial advantages which the induſtry, care and application of the Royal African Company had produced to the nation, during the time that the trade was carried on by an excluſive conſtitution, the ſubſtance of that whole ſection is reſumed again expreſsly in theſe general terms, "And in effect they managed matters ſo as that, for ſeveral years together, that trade did not only produce an annual dividend of certain profits to all the particular adventurers in the joint-ſtock, beſide a multiplication of their capital, but likewiſe ſeveral other publick and national advantages to the whole kingdom, and the Britiſh plantations in general." And de facto it was ſo; for it will ſtill appear, by the company's books, that, over-and-above the ſaid dividends, they had improved their capital ſtock to ſeveral hundreds per cent. and would probably have continued to have made a proportional improvement ſtill, if an inundation of interlopers had not broke in upon their privileges, ſoon after the Revolution, &c.

R. As to his complaint of the ſeparate traders leſſening the company's credit, what credit can a man have? &c.

A. Here

A. Here the Remarker, once in his life-time, has the modeſty not to deny the fact, as being indeed too palpably known, and particularly vouched, by innumerable inſtances, in the Second Part of theſe Reflections, but, according to his ordinary method, endeavours to ſhift it with one of his uſual ſupercilious queſtions, which, to ſhew his wiſdom, he ſtates by way of a parable, wherein he very liberally compliments the gentlemen of of the company, under the cloak of his diſtorted parable, with the agreeable epithet of knave, bankrupt, &c. Theſe are the rhetorical flowers with which this Remarker thinks fit to embelliſh his judicious parables, which puts me in mind of Solomon's ſaying, "The legs of the lame are not equal; ſo is a parable in the mouth of fools*." And truly, in my humble opinion, the company may very juſtly complain in the words of the ſame wiſe man, "Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who is able to ſtand before envy†?" The company's credit, reputation, and ſucceſs in their undertakings, were indeed envied, while they had the trade excluſive, and I need not repeat here the grounds and occaſion of their preſent low circumſtances, that being already made ſufficiently evident elſewhere.

R. In his progreſs of the trade to Africa, the author taxes many ſeparate traders with repenting that they ever traded to Africa, and of divers abuſes committed by them on the coaſt. But his ignorance appears in nothing more than in the firſt of theſe two aſſertions, becauſe none of the ſeparate traders, that have continued the trade, have reaſon to repent, but are able to pay their juſt debts, without coming a-begging to have their

* Prov. 26, 7. † Prov. 27, 4.

neighbours thrown out of their employment, that they may be ſet up again in their room.

A. By the Cuſtom-houſe entries it appears, that the number of perſons who traded ſeparately to Africa, from year to year, ſince the commencement of the act of parliament, 1697, to this year, are as followeth, viz.

Years.	Numbers of Traders.
1698	16
1699	145
1700	144
1701	143
1702	84
1703	71
1704	54
1705	48
1706	40
1707	37
1708	27

It appears likewiſe, that ſome who traded the firſt year diſcontinued the ſecond, though others came then in; that ſome who traded the ſecond year diſcontinued the third; and ſo they ſucceeded and diſcontinued progreſſively, from year to year, till that, of between 4 and 500 ſeveral perſons who traded ſeparately to the coaſt of Africa, ſince the commencement of the aforeſaid act, there are but 27 who have made any entries thither in the year 1708. So, whether my ignorance, or the Remarker's diſingenuity, in relation to this point of fact, "that many ſeparate traders repented their having ever traded to Africa," be moſt apparent, the reader is, by this time, pretty able to judge. But indeed his (BECAUSE) is ſuch a ſurprizing one, as is only peculiar to the Remarker's own

own ſingular method of reaſoning, viz. "None of the (27) ſeparate traders, that have continued the trade, have (as he ſays) reaſon to repent;" therefore none of the 400 and odd perſons, who have relinquiſhed it, have any reaſon to repent that they ever traded to Africa. This is one of the Remarker's natural conſequences. Well, I will vow it is no ſmall piece of penance to any one to be obliged to read, and much more to anſwer, ſuch a rhapſody of incoherent ſtuff as theſe remarks that I am thus taking to pieces.

However, I cannot but obſerve here, that as no more than 27 ſeparate traders have made entries at the Cuſtom-houſe, for the coaſt of Africa, in the year 1708, ſo the very ſame number, though not all of them the ſame perſons, have ſigned their late petition to the honourable Houſe of Commons; the reaſon of which may ſeem to be this, That poſſibly ſome of thoſe who made ſeparate entries were not willing to put themſelves upon a level with the reſt; but the reſt being (it ſeems) reſolved to keep up their compleat number, got others to liſt themſelves as gentlemen-volunteers, though they made no entries at all, as may be ſeen by comparing their names with the Cuſtom-houſe books.

Then, as to the Remarker's ſuggeſting that the company comes a-begging to have their neighbours thrown out of their employment, that they may ſet up again in their room, certainly either he forgets himſelf extremely, or he muſt think that all his readers have very treacherous memories, not to remember that, about 20 years ago, there was not ſo much as one ſeparate trader to Africa, from any part of her Majeſty's dominions, but all the trade to Africa was then commonly underſtood to be the property, as well as in the poſſeſſion of the Royal

Royal African Company; nor was there any ſeparate trader to Africa licenſed ever by act of parliament, before the year 1697: and yet this Remarker writes with ſuch an air, as if the company were only new upſtarts and violent intruders (forſooth) upon the ſeparate traders rights and privileges, though, at the ſame time, nothing is more certain, than that the company have been the ſole recoverers, founders and preſervers of that trade to this nation, and, beyond all peradventure, they, or ſome ſuch other company, muſt be ſo ſtill, if we have not a mind to make a compliment of it to the French or Dutch, or both. But I find a good ſtock of aſſurance is a very prevailing argument in our age, and I will do ſo much juſtice to the Remarker, as to own, that he is not in danger of turning bankrupt in that commodity.

R. Indeed the calamities of this war have borne very hard on the ſeparate traders, who have loſt more therein than the company traded for ſince the act; and though they loſt 22 ſhips and cargoes out of the trade laſt year, of above 70,000 *l.* value, yet they have 50 ſail of ſhips now employed in this trade.

A. Now, with the Remarker's good leave, I will adventure time about, to make ſome remarks on this paragraph of his.

1. Here is a voluntary acknowledgment, in the firſt place, that, ſince the beginning of this war, the ſeparate traders have loſt more therein than the company have traded for ſince the commencement of the act. This looks ſomewhat like frank dealing, and therefore, that I may not ſeem to croſs him in all his poſitions, I freely own that I think it one of the greateſt truths in his whole book; yet, that we may not, between us, leave the reader in the dark, as to what this great loſs may

may juſtly be ſuppoſed to amount to, I intend to give a particular view thereof, when I come to conſider the Remarker's computations, as to exports and imports, and do aſſure the reader, in the mean time, that the company's whole exports, ſince the commencement of the act, amounts to about 305,000 *l.* beſide intereſt, &c.

2. The Remarker is pleaſed to tell us, " that the ſeparate traders have loſt 22 ſhips and cargoes out of the trade laſt year." I have no great mind to diſpute the verity of this point of fact, only I obſerve, that the greateſt number of ſhips diſpatched by the ſeparate traders from the port of London to the coaſt of Africa, in any one year, from the year 1703 to the year 1708, was 29 ſhips, and in ſome of theſe years not above 18 ſhips at moſt; from the Plantations there were none in all thoſe years, but only ſix ſmall veſſels from Jamaica, and four ſmall veſſels from Antigua: from any out-ports in England there were none, but ſome few from Briſtol, and one in one year from Plymouth. Now, to loſe 22 ſhips, with their cargoes, to the value of above 70,000 *l.* in any one year, out of ſo ſmall a number of ſhips ſent out, looks to me as if either the fact was not altogether true, or, if true, that then ſome people were probably at their repentance, whatever face they may, for other reaſons, think fit to put upon it; however, in ſome ſenſe, it is poſſible I may be miſtaken, and the Remarker may ſometimes inadvertently happen to blab out a truth; yea, I have heard it ſaid too, that ſome few perſons may perhaps be gainers by commiſſion and commiſſion-houſes in the plantations, &c. when, at the ſame time, thoſe chiefly concerned in the property of the ſhips and cargoes (though their names be not mentioned in the Cuſtom-houſe books) may have

too much reaſon to repent that ever they traded to Africa.

3. As to "the ſeparate traders loſing above 70,000*l.* value out of their trade laſt year," I obſerve that their greateſt exports in any one year, ſince Michaelmas 1704, has been 35,796*l.* 15*s.* which is conſiderably above the average of theſe laſt three or four years, taking them altogether. And now, to loſe above 70,000*l.* out of the aforeſaid ſum of 35,796*l.* 15*s.* ſeems ſomewhat ſingular; but the Remarker is a man of ſingular ſkill in numbers, and I will warrant you he will make it out one way or other, with ſhips and all into the bargain, and write at the bottom of the account, "Item, all ſpent." And yet (which is the moſt ſingular part of all) neither he, nor any of all the ſeparate traders, have any reaſon to repent that ever they traded to Africa.

4. As to the Remarker's ſaying that, "Yet they (the ſeparate traders) have above 50 ſail of ſhips now employed in this trade," it is manifeſt by the Cuſtom-houſe entries, that (taking one year with another) there have not been above three-fifths of that number ſent out to Africa, in any one year, theſe four or five years laſt paſt.

R. And as to the abuſes this writer mentions to have been committed by private traders on the natives, the preſent ſeparate traders know nothing thereof, &c.

A. The Remarker reſumes this accuſation againſt the ſeparate traders very imperfectly, and yet the faintneſs of his defence tacitly implies an acknowledgment of the guilt. But that more ſeparate traders than one have committed very groſs abuſes, inconſiſtent with the common rules of humanity, both with relation to the company and the natives on the coaſt of Africa, may be evidently ſeen by innu-

innumerable inſtances particularly mentioned in the Second Part of theſe Reflections.

R. What means this man by his ſtory of the Dutch cajolling of the private traders, and uſing them civilly? Becauſe their agents and factors deny them water, fire at their boats, impriſon their ſervants, pirate their ſhips, Is he diſpleaſed that other nations do not do ſo too?

A. Here the Remarker comes on again with his myſterious queſtions, and that in ſuch an aukward and perplexed dreſs that no man living can underſtand his meaning, otherwiſe than by gueſſing; for, if we have regard to common-ſenſe, the ordinary rules of grammar, and propriety of ſpeech, the appellative (their agents and factors) muſt relate either to the Dutch or the ſeparate traders, becauſe no other perſon or perſons are any way mentioned in the whole ſection; yet, if we may pretend to gueſs at his real meaning here, by his mumbling and grumbling againſt the Royal African Company elſewhere, and ſince the natural meaning of his own words does not ſuit with his purpoſe, we muſt underſtand his meaning to be, that the agents and factors of the company have done thoſe groſs things here mentioned, and would, under the cloak of that ſcandalous and groundleſs ſuggeſtion, palliate and wave the conſideration of the ſeparate traders tranſactions with the Dutch Company's agents, &c. And really his manner of dealing, all along, with the book which he pretends to anſwer, puts me in mind of ſeeing an aſs mumbling thiſtles, and of the gingerly pains he takes in guarding againſt the prickles, while he is chewing them.

R. What means he by his allegations, that the company called in 180,000*l.* beſides their money borrowed.

A. I meant a plain and evident truth, to which the Remarker cannot, with his good-will, be reconciled, though it be fully and diſtinctly expreſſed in the 9th and 10th pages of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections*; and yet, ſuch is the power of truth, that inadvertently he does as good as own it in his next queſtion.

R. Does he not know they divided that ſum, and 100,000*l.* more out again? Beſides all they got by trade, which may be worth while for their members to enquire into.

A. The Remarker knows (if he knows any thing at all of the matter) that what he ſuggeſts by this queſtion is quite contrary to his own knowledge; for by the company's books (an extract whereof was given in to the lords commiſſioners for trade) it appears manifeſtly, that all the dividends made by the company, ever ſince the trade was laid open by the act of parliament, 1697, amounts to no more than 61,130*l.* in the whole, ſo that, deducting the common intereſt from the reſpective times of their having contributed their ſeveral proportions of the aforeſaid 180,000*l.* they are ſtill (according to the agreements made in the general courts of adventurers) 140,201*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* out of pocket, of the ſaid advanced ſum; and indeed theſe dividends were only in the nature of premiums for contributing much larger ſums, for the preſervation and maintenance of the company's forts and ſettlements, and for keeping up the face of a regular trade, till they could have an opportunity

* Vide page 94 of this volume.

tunity of laying their grievances before the Parliament.

R. Why don't he mention what dividends the company made by Bottomree-bonds, which ſunk what ſtock they had that was tied by parliament for the well maintaining their forts?

A. The malicious, though empty and inſipid groundleſs inſinuations of this and the immediate preceding queſtions, would tempt the patience of Job to make ſome untoward reply; but the truth is, it would be a betraying one's own weakneſs, to ſhew any real concern at any thing that can drop from this Remarker's licentious and trifling pen, for as he has neither reaſon nor argument on his ſide, ſo his deſign is only to amuſe, and not to be underſtood; and poſſibly he knows, that to write ſo as not to be underſtood, is one ſure way of being admired by thoſe of his own rank and degree in letters. Yet I cannot forbear calling to mind here, and applying too on the Remarker's part, the common ſaying, "That a fool may aſk more queſtions in one day than a wiſe man can anſwer in ſeven years." However, as his queſtions import nothing that is either puzzling or material, but only the vexation of throwing away ſo much time on ſuch a worthleſs piece of work as that which he is pleaſed to call "Remarks, &c." I think myſelf, in ſome meaſure, obliged to expoſe the weakneſs and futility of his reaſoning, leſt that, peradventure, ſome unwary readers may be caught and enſnared by the unparalelled confidence of his aſſertions, and ſurprizing invidiouſneſs of his poiſonous, though groundleſs inſinuations.

From the commencement of the Royal African Company's charter in 1672, all the premio's for money borrowed by them upon Bottomree-bonds,

to

to this hour, amounts to no more than 43,000 *l.* at moſt; nor was there ever ſo much as one ſhilling of that money borrowed, nor Bottomree-bonds granted for the ſame, without the ſpecial allowance, approbation and advice of the general courts of adventurers, from time to time, and that too upon very pinching and extraordinary occaſions, and in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, for ſupporting and maintaining their forts and ſettlements, and for preſerving the ſame, together with their trade, from falling into the hands of the French, Dutch, or other competitors, till ſome favourable opportunity ſhould offer for obtaining effectual relief and ſupport from the wiſdom of the parliament; and indeed, upon the whole matter, it will be made evident, to a demonſtration, that, inſtead of making any dividends out of their calumniouſly alledged profits, other than the 61,130 *l.* formerly mentioned, not only the company, but even the ſeparate traders themſelves jointly conſidered, have loſt at leaſt 60 *l.* per cent. of all that they have traded for ſince the commencement of the act. But to ſuggeſt that what the company expended in purchaſing, building, maintaining and repairing their forts and ſettlements, &c. and what they too viſibly loſt in the trade, ſince the Revolution, was ſunk and divided among themſelves at home, he might, with as much ſincerity, have alledged that the 70,000 *l.* value, which (he ſays) the ſeparate traders loſt the laſt year at ſea, came all to the company's hands, and that they divided the ſame among themſelves (according to his own phraſe) in Exchange-alley. But, upon this and many other occaſions, the company may very juſtly declaim with Quintilian, thus, "Quò penetrat livor improbus?"

R. But as in every paragraph, for many pages, there are either falſe quotations or falſe repreſentations of matter of fact, ſo he ſays the natives advance the price of Negroes, and depreciate our Britiſh manufactures.

A. Certainly the Remarker could never have raved thus of falſe quotations and falſe repreſentations of matter of fact, if he had not ſuppoſed that his readers were not at all to trouble their heads about the truth or untruth of what was ſaid, or the reaſonableneſs of any argument urged on either ſide, but to judge of the merits of the cauſe meerly by his Billingſgate reaſoning; and therefore, being reſolved to cry out "Whore" firſt, ſhews his talent that way in a very extraordinary manner. What theſe alledged falſe quotations have been, he will (no doubt) let us know in the next edition of his Remarks, with additions and amendments, &c. But as to his alledged falſe repreſentations of matter of fact, he has an inſtance of that ready at hand, viz. "The natives advance the prices of Negroes, and depreciate the Britiſh manufactures," which he wiſely endeavours to ſkin over with the vain ſubterfuges of his if's, abatings, and unleſs's. But as the demonſtrable verity of that fact has been already unanſwerably proved in the Firſt and Second Parts of theſe Reflections, and likewiſe before a committee of the honourable Houſe of Commons, it is needleſs to reſume the particulars here again; however, it may ſerve as a farther inſtance of the Remarker's ingenuity, and of my happineſs in being engaged with ſo fair a diſputant, and ſo generous an adverſary.

R. Then ſays he, "The evil conſequences do "not ſtop here, becauſe the merchant impoſes "the Negroes on the planters at his own extra-"vagant price, and then the planter puts a pro-

" portionable price on the plantation commodi-
" ties." In anſwer to which, the truth of this fact is juſt the reverſe of his aſſertion; for let the ſeparate trader pay what he will on the coaſt for Negroes, when he comes to America it daily happens, that many Negro-ſhips coming at a time gluts the market, by reaſon of the numbers of Negroes imported, and the many ſellers whoſe hands they fall into; ſo that it often happens that Negroes have been, even this war, ſold for the ſame prices they coſt; and let plantation commodities be bought at what price they will, they are often ſold at home for two-thirds of the coſt, according to the demand for them, and according to the number of ſellers. And the caſe is very plain, for if 30 or 40 perſons come to market with the ſame commodity, a man may pick and chuſe.

A. How faithfully the Remarker reſumes my part of this paragraph, and how far it is conſiſtent with truth, may be beſt ſeen by comparing it with the 10th page of the original *. But thus far I will agree with him, that " many Negro-ſhips coming at a time gluts the market;" that, as matters are managed now, " the plantation commodities are often ſold at two-thirds of the coſt (and frequently, all charges borne, yields not the one-half) according to the demand for them, and according to the number of ſellers;" and that (as he ſays) " the caſe is very plain, for if 30 or 40 perſons come to market with the ſame commodity, a man may pick and chuſe." Now, if the Remarker will but condeſcend to change the ſcene a little from the plantations to the coaſt of Africa, and allow that the ſame things are in a much more lively manner acted there (as de facto they are, whether he pleaſe to allow the ſame or not) it is not impoſſible but that we may come to compromiſe matters

* Vide page 94 and 95 of this volume.

matters, and that (after this fit of ſcolding is over) the ſeparate traders may find it their intereſt to agree to thoſe meaſures propoſed by the company, for the preſervation and improvement of the Britiſh intereſt in Africa.

R. But if ſuch commodity were in the hands of but one ſeller for a monopolizing ſociety, he would have his own price for Negroes abroad, and the company would have their own price for ſugars at home. Such is the ſame caſe this hour in reſpect to coffee, which, at the place of its growth, is bought under 6*d.* a pound, and yet, by means of its being but in one hand, is ſold from 16 to 20*s.* a pound.

A. From ſaying ſomething like ſenſe, in the former part of this ſection, the Remarker deſcends again to his old ſtrain of comparing the coaſt of Africa with the ſeveral ſhops between Aldgate and Temple-bar: but the company's caſe (all different circumſtances being conſidered) having no manner of relation to this bull of a compariſon about coffee, I refer it to Mr. Bull on Ludgate-hill to anſwer it.

Hitherto I have gone hand in hand with the Remarker, and (as I humbly apprehend) ſufficiently confuted him, paragraph by paragraph, without pretermitting any one ſection from the very beginning; nor do I know that I have miſrecited him in ſo much as one ſingle word. But really I am heartily wearied of digging up ſuch a heap of rubbiſh as he has huddled together, under the title of "Remarks, &c." without any regard to method or order; and therefore, to render the ſubſequent confuſed jargon, which he ſputters out about numbers, computations, extracts, tables, exports and imports, the more intelligible to the reader, I intend to explain the whole, together

with the many groſs fallacies therein contained, under ſome certain general heads.

I. It is to be obſerved, that, in all his computations of the ſeparate traders exports, he includes all the 10 per cent. duty paid to the company both for exports and imports; and the accumulative amount of the ſaid 10 per cent. duty being the rule by which he calculates the total of their exports, it follows, as a neceſſary conſequence, that 10,000*l.* muſt be deducted of his eſtimate of their ſaid exports, for every 1000*l.* duty which they paid upon imports.

II. In the 6th page of his Remarks already recited, he makes a topping flouriſh, that 160,000*l.* value per ann. was exported for two years in peace, and near 70,000*l.* value per ann. ſince the war. But here it is to be obſerved, that, to ſwell up theſe great ſums, the company's exports are alſo included, together with the 10 per cent likewiſe.

III. He makes a mighty buſtle, in his 10th page, to ſwell up the ſeparate traders exports, in manner aforeſaid, to be near 125,000*l.* value per ann. in time of peace, and yet, in the ſubſequent 11th and 13th pages, he is forced to explain himſelf to this purpoſe; That their exports for three years of peace, the greateſt that ever they made (and in all probability greater than they are like to make ever again) was only 98,240*l.* and in ditto page 13, computing as aforeſaid, all that he pretends the value of their annual exports to be per ann. in an average, after September 1701, is only 40,430*l.* But before we have done, it is not impoſſible but that he may be brought to acknowledge, that the computation of their exports, mentioned in the 13th page of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections*, was reaſonably grounded;

* Vide page 100 of this volume.

grounded; for the account I had of it, by extracts of the ſeparate traders oaths and entries, in the Cuſtom-houſes of London, Briſtol, and other out-ports of England, for ſix years together, commencing at Michaelmas 1701, was as followeth, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
From 29th Sept. 1701, to 29th Sept. 1702 —	37875	18	6
29th ditto 1702, to 29th ditto 1703 —	44115	12	3
29th ditto 1703, to 29th ditto 1704 —	26527	7	11
29th ditto 1704, to 29th ditto 1705 —	30651	7	6
29th ditto 1705, to 29th ditto 1706 —	32144	19	6
29th ditto 1706, to 29th ditto 1707 —	31986	16	8
The aforeſaid ſix years exports amounts to	203302	2	4

which, in an average, is 33,883*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* per ann.

IV. Here I cannot but obſerve, that as the ſeparate traders do labour, by all the means imaginable, to put the iſſue of all points now in debate, with relation to the conſtitution and ſettlement of the trade to Africa, upon the pretended merits of their exports, and alledged importation of Negroes to the Plantations, as if nothing elſe were to be conſidered in that matter, ſo nothing ſeems to touch them ſo nearly as any pointed argument that tends to the leſſening of either the one or the other, though it be moſt evident that they do magnify both very much.

It is pleaſant to ſee the Remarker, in his 12th page, ſputter out a deal of fume and anger, for my having made their real exports the ſtandard of computing the real number of Negroes which they could have purchaſed at the price current on the coaſt of Africa, and for having ſtated a certain clear dilemma in the ſaid 13th page, that either their exports were no more than what I ſaid they were, or that they perjured themſelves in making their entries, to cheat the company of their 10 per cent. duty, which (it ſeems) nettles them extremely, and wants a categorical anſwer to this

hour; but he endeavours to ſhift it, by ſaying expreſsly, in his ditto page 12, *R.* That the loading of the ſeparate traders negro-ſhips are not computed from the value of the cargoes they carry out (as the Reflecter wrongfully inſinuates) but at 250 Negroes, one with another, which is but the loading of a veſſel of 120 tons, or thereabout, and is ſo mentioned in the report to the Queen.

A. The fallaciouſneſs of this method of computing the numbers of Negroes imported to the plantations, by the numbers of ſhips ſent out to the coaſt of Africa, is very clearly demonſtrated in the 13th and 14th pages of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections *; however, for the reader's farther ſatisfaction, I will (with the Remarker's good leave) add the few following conſiderations. 1ſt, We are not as yet fully agreed upon the certain number of ſhips ſent out. 2dly, Allowing the alledged number of ſhips ſent out to be true, yet it is manifeſt that many of them came off the coaſt with not above half their complements of ſlaves. 3dly, Allowing they had all their full complements of ſlaves, I have heard no ſubſtantial reaſon given, why they ſhould be computed at 250 Negroes per ſhip, when it is known that many of theſe ſhips were but very ſmall ſloops. 4thly, Allowing that computation to be juſt, the Remarker owns, that, of thoſe ſhips ſent out by the ſeparate traders ſince the commencement of this war, near 100 ſail have miſcarried outward-bound: All which makes it evident, that any computation that can be made of Negroes imported to the plantations, merely upon the foot of the numbers of ſhips ſent out to Africa, muſt be as good as no computation at all. And 5thly, Since the Remarker is ſo ready at ſolving dilemma's,

* Vide pag. 101, 102, 103 and 104, of this volume.

ma's, I will give him an opportunity of exerciſing his talent with one more.

Either the ſeparate traders have been guilty of perjury, in making the entries of their exports at the Cuſtom-houſe ſhort of what they really were, or they have been guilty of robbery, theft or manſtealing on the coaſt of Africa, or have perhaps been guilty both ways, otherwiſe they have not imported ſuch numbers of Negroes to the plantations as they alledge they have; which I prove thus:

It is already ſhewn that their exports, in an average, ſince Michaelmas 1701, amounted to no more than 33,883*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* per ann. and upon that foot I have, in the 14th page of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections *, made a computation, that 4235 Negroes was the greateſt number that was poſſible for them to have purchaſed with that ſum, on the coaſt of Africa, at 8*l.* per head, even ſuppoſing they had no manner of loſs or diſappointment, nor beſtowed any part of it otherways, though the contrary be evident; yet, ſince they are very angry at that computation, without having confuted it, by any direct anſwer, to this hour, I will gratify the Remarker ſo far as to ſuppoſe farther, that the ſeparate traders whole exports, in an average, ſince Michaelmas 1701, has, according to his own lumping computation in his 13th page, amounted to 40,430*l.* per ann. Now I will ſuppoſe that (without making any abatement for loſſes, diſappointments, gold, elephants teeth, red-wood, proviſions for Negroes, or the like) they have inveſted all that ſum of 40,430*l.* in Negroes, at 8*l.* per head (though it be certain they coſt more) yet they could not honeſtly have purchaſed with that ſum any more than 5053 Negroes at moſt. I will ſuppoſe likewiſe, that (without

* Vide page 102 of this volume.

making any abatement for mortality, ſtorms, or the accidents of war) they have delivered that compleat number yearly into the plantations; and if they pretend to have delivered any more, I muſt beg the Remarker's leave to aſk ſome few queſtions, time about. 1ſt, Pray how came they by them? were they all Negro volunteers? No, I reckon that will not be pretended. 2dly, How came the ſeparate traders by all the cam-wood, elephants teeth and gold imported by them, when all the aforeſaid ſum was previouſly inveſted in Negroes? did they get all theſe in preſents from the natives? No ſure; for I have heard that the natives were always readier to take than give preſents. 3dly, What might be the value of all the cargoes of the 100 ſail of ſhips which, he ſays, they loſt outward-bound, ſince the commencement of this war, ſince, in his 7th page, he eſtimates 22 of them (including the ſhips in which they were) at 70,000 *l.* value? 4thly, Were all theſe cargoes fairly entered at the Cuſtom-houſe? and was the 10 per cent. duty paid for the ſame? Or 5thly, Did they ſend out ſhips without any cargoes, to truſt to Providence and the ſkill of their commanders for getting Negroes, &c. by ſecret ways and means? 6thly, Will he refer me to the amount of the 10 per cent. duty which was paid, or to the lords commiſſioners report, for categorical anſwers to all theſe queries, ariſing very naturally from the premiſſes? No, that is coming cloſe to the point. And therefore, till the Remarker, or his confederates, think fit to anſwer directly to the aforeſaid queries (as I have done to his much more from-the-purpoſe ones) I will deſire to be excuſed, if I continue in the belief (though, at firſt view, it may ſeem ſomewhat uncharitable) that the ſeparate traders have ei her perjured themſelves at the Cuſtom-houſe, or been guilty of rob-

robbery, theft or kidnapping on the coaſt of Africa, or endeavoured to impoſe upon the nation by imaginary numbers of Negroes alledged by them to have been imported to the plantations; yea, and if it be conſidered that ſome, who ſwore to the entries of very conſiderable exports for the coaſt of Africa, could (upon other occaſions, in order to get extravagant draw-backs from the government) ſwear that bales of canvas were bales of muſlin; and if there be any truth in the contents of the Second Part of theſe Reflections (which I have not as yet heard contradicted) and conſidering likewiſe their method of computing the numbers of Negroes imported to the plantations by the numbers of ſhips ſent out to the coaſt of Africa, it may (without exceeding the bounds of charity) be ſhrewdly ſuſpected that, at leaſt, ſome or other of the ſeparate traders have been guilty of all the three branches of the aforeſaid dilemma. Theſe points of fact are all very plainly ſtated; and if the Remarker, or any of his confederates, can fairly extricate them out of this labyrinth of a dilemma, without mincing matters by his uſual little quibbling ſhifts and evaſions, I will very frankly ſuccumb, and own that he ought to be carried off the field in triumph.

I thought to have made an end here, as to this diſpute about his pretended numbers of Negroes; but recollecting my memory, that, in his 14th page, he charges me with no leſs than forgery, in theſe expreſs words, " As to the certificate he mentions of the numbers of Negroes imported by the ſeparate traders into Barbadoes, for ſeven years time, it muſt be either made by himſelf, or a falſe quotation &c." I think myſelf obliged to obviate that ſcandalous imputation, with the reſt of his civil compliments that way, by ſubjoining an

exact copy of the certificate itſelf, and is verbatim as followeth:

B A R B A D O E S.

A LIST of what veſſels arrived here from the coaſt of Africa, alſo an account of what Negroes were imported in them, from Jan. 2, 1702, to Aug. 10, 1708.

When enter'd.	Veſſels names.	Maſters names.	No. of Negr.
1702 Jan. 2.	Betty,	William Meain,	97
Feb. 13.	Mary,	Edwin Carter,	295
1703 Mar. 31.	Edward and Francis,	Cha. Laughorne,	152 Co.
Oct. 28.	Betty,	John Luke,	161
Nov. 10.	John's Adventure,	Tho. Matthews,	150
11.	Royal Africa,	Tho. Mackley,	458 Co.
Jan. 6.	Betty,	John Foſter,	262
24.	Edward and Francis,	Tho. Mildrum,	145 Co.
27.	Mary,	Will. Codner,	260
Mar. 6.	Daverſe Galley,	John Maxwel,	288 Co.
1704 April 5.	Dotton Galley,	John Cox,	150
8.	Tryal,	Joſias Appleby,	140
18.	Dolphin,	Tho. Beeſwaver,	170
	Lyon and Lamb,	Joſeph Green,	378 Co.
May 23.	Champion,	Rob. Penington,	160
July 10.	William & Elizabeth,	Rich. Hamlin,	482
Oct. 4.	Rebecca,	Tho. Matthews,	150
12.	Queen,	Tho. Meale,	240
Nov. 9.	Amiable,	James Porter,	290
Dec. 29.	Mary,	Will. Codner,	218
Jan. 16.	Eagle,	Tho. Bound,	534 Co.
Mar. 8.	Warner,	Philip Bennet,	131
1705 29.	Larke,	Matt. Harman,	176 Co.
April 2.	Edwyn and Joſeph,	Edw. Collings,	88
30.	Littleton Galley,	John Lowther,	304
June 29.	Ann Galley,	William Nunn,	90
July 3.	Content,	Steph. Patrick,	96
27.	Mappan,	Bern. Clapcott,	318
Nov. 3.	Edwyn and Joſeph,	Edw. Collings,	90
Dec. 15.	Mary,	John Frankling,	234
Jan. 16.	Conſtant Alice,	John Hunt,	134
	carried over —		6841

When

When enter'd.	Veſſels names.	Maſters names.	No. of Negr
		brought over —	6841
1705 Feb. 18.	Eagle,	Tho. Bound,	521 Co.
April 5.	Content,	Joſeph Thorne,	143 Co.
12.	Rebecca,	Tho. Matthews,	156
13.	Prodigal Son,	Hugh Moſely,	194 Co.
June 18.	Fame,	Will. Browne,	640 Co.
July 4.	Samuel & Elizabeth,	Rich. Hamlin,	382
8.	Edwin and Joſeph,	Edw. Collings,	92
Sept. 19.	Larke Galley,	Iſaac Barber,	133
Oct. 12.	Amiable,	James Porter,	336
1706 Nov. 20.	Bridgewater Frigate,	Will. Cooke,	116 Co.
Jan. 25.	Royal Conſort,	James Criſpin,	458 Co.
27.	Mary,	John Frankling,	226
1707 May 12.	Eſcape,	Joſeph Appleby,	121
Aug. 15.	Larke Galley,	Iſaac Barber,	93
Nov. 18.	Sherborough Frigate,	William Gill,	75 Co.
Mar. 6.	Katharine,	Lamb. Peachey,	476 Co.
1708 29.	Dorothy,	Thomas Aſhby,	123 Co.
April 19.	Hawke,	Rich. Thomas,	130
			11256

BARBADOES. THESE are to certify, That the foregoing is a true liſt of what veſſels arrived here from the coaſt of Africa; alſo an account of what Negroes were imported in them, from the ſecond day of January 1702, to the tenth day of Auguſt 1708, according to entries made in the Naval-Office of this iſland. Given under my hand and ſeal of the Naval-Office, this tenth of Auguſt 1708, in the ſeventh year of her Majeſty's reign, &c.

To whom it ſhall or may concern.

SAM. COX, Naval-Officer.

Here is a very particular and diſtinct certificate, printed off the very original, which (if needful) is to be produced before the honourable Houſe of Commons, and the Remarker, with all his confe-

derates, are hereby challenged to produce a better or more appoſite voucher, if they can.

It is evident, by the aforeſaid certificate, that, inſtead of the ſeparate traders boaſted allotment of 4000 Negroes per ann. for Barbadoes (which, in ſeven years time, would have amounted to 28,000 Negroes) they have, in near about ſeven years time (after deducting the company's importations, mentioned likewiſe in the ſame certificate) imported only 6454 Negroes to that iſland; and, as a farther proof of the yearly declenſion of their boaſted trade, inſtead of their pretended improvement thereof, it is evident, by the ſaid certificate likewiſe, that, from Aug. 10, 1707, to Aug. 10, 1708, they imported only 130 Negroes to Barbadoes, though it be the moſt conſiderable of all the Caribbee-Iſlands.

Then, inſtead of the ſeparate traders allotment of 12,000 Negroes per ann. for Jamaica, which, in ſeven years time, would have amounted to 84,000 Negroes, it will appear, by the very accounts annexed to the lords commiſſioners report, that (after deducting the numbers of Negroes imported thither by the company, which are accumulated in theſe accounts) the yearly numbers imported to that iſland by the ſeparate traders, for ſeven years laſt paſt, are as followeth:

In the year		the ſeparate traders imported to Jamaica.		Negroes.
	1702		2098	
	1703		2703	
	1704		2406	
	1705		2774	
	1706		3682	
	1707		3270	
	1708		1952	

which, in all, makes but 18,885 Negroes, and is, by ſome thouſands, ſhort of the fourth part of the aforeſaid allotment for ſeven years.

Then,

Then, as to ſuch part of the aforeſaid accounts as relate to Antegoa, the Negroes imported in two of the company's ſhips, viz. the William and Jane, Thomas Holland commander, and the Canterbury, William Read commander, are, by miſtake, inſerted as if they had been imported by the ſeparate traders; ſo that, after deducting the numbers of Negroes imported thither by the company, the whole that the ſeparate traders imported to Antegoa, for ſeven years laſt paſt, amounts to no more than 1691 Negroes.

Nor do I find that the ſeparate traders have imported to the iſlands of Nevis, Montſerrat, and St. Chriſtopher's, above the number of 1260 Negroes altogether, theſe ſeven years paſt. By which the reader may ſee how near the ſeparate traders have come to their boaſted allotment of 4000 Negroes per ann. for the Leeward-Iſlands, which, in the aforeſaid ſeven years time, would have amounted to 28,000 Negroes.

But the Remarker (like all other quacks and mountebanks; for there are mountebank-ſcribblers, as well as mountebank-doctors) has one general anſwer to all manner of ſcruples and objections, viz. That they made great exports, which produced likewiſe a great importation of Negroes, for one or two years immediately preceding the laſt ſeven years.

In reply to which, the Remarker may be pleaſed to conſider (if he conſiders any thing at all) that, as his having extremely magnified the ſeparate traders exports and imports for the aforeſaid two years, is already demonſtrated in the immediate preceding 294th and following pages, ſo even their real exports and imports, in that time, were occaſioned meerly by reaſon of ſome hundreds of ignorant perſons falling haſtily into that trade, of which

which they knew as little (it ſeems) as the Remarker does, for they as haſtily gave it over again; as appears by their numbers then (ſtated in page 280) compared with their numbers at this time.

What now remains of this worthy Remarker's performance to be conſidered, is that moſt ignorant and ſcandalouſly fictitious account which he ſtates in his 26th and 27th pages, and maliciouſly ſubjoins, that, out of the ſum of 293,730*l.* (the company's exports from the commencement of the act till Michaelmas 1707) they muſt have made 430,000*l.* beſide the charge of maintaining their forts, the 10 per cent. duty, &c. But had he underſtood any thing of merchant-accounts, and not been tranſported with fury and rage, he would, or at leaſt he ought to, have ſtated that account thus:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The company's exports — —	293740	6	8
The parliament duty 10 per cent.	29374	0	8
Premio of inſurance (premio and rebate included) at 8 per cent. in peace, and 16 guineas in war — — —	54000	0	0
Intereſt for 20 months — —	37711	8	10
The company's ſterling-account	414825	16	2

The returns, as per the Remarker's folio 26.

By imports of wood and teeth, &c.	52230	17	1
By 5982 Negroes ſold at Barbadoes	156425	7	6
By 11778 ditto, in the other plantations — — —	306248	0	0
By 2500 more in the year 1708	65000	0	0
By his computation of gold —	50000	0	0
Groſs computed returns in Engliſh and plantation-money	629904	4	7

Out

Out of which the following charges and loſſes are to be deducted, to make it ſterling and fact.

	£.	s.	d.
Inſurance, freight and cuſtom on wood and teeth — —	26115	8	6
Freight of 8500 Negroes, at 5*l.* per head — — — —	42500	0	0
Ditto of 14278, at 11 *l.* per head	157058	0	0
Captains and factors commiſſion, 14*l.* per cent. — — —	73874	0	0
One-third loſs by the returns of the neat produce of the plantation-money, as per the Remarker's page 9. — —	84747	2	6
Over-charged in the returns of gold — — — —	30000	0	0
The whole diſcounts — —	414294	11	0
Balance to the ſterling-account	215609	13	7
	629904	4	7
The ſterling-account is debtor	414825	16	2
Ditto creditor — — —	215609	13	7
So loſt of the above exports	199216	2	7

It is to be obſerved, that no allowance is made in this account for bad debts, though it be well known that the company have loſt many thouſands of pounds by truſting the planters, &c.

It would be almoſt an endleſs labour to enumerate all the abſurdities and contradictions that have dropt from this Remarker's pen.

In

In his 6th and 7th pages, he makes the company to be meer bankrupts, &c. and yet, to anſwer another turn, by his aforementioned fictitious account, page 26 and 27, he muſt have the company to have made very conſiderable profits, ſince the trade has been laid open. And pray what does he mean by all this? A very pious deſign, no doubt! to ſet the ſeveral members of the company together by the ears, to the end that, in the mean time (as the ſaying is) a third dog may come in and run away with the bone, about which they are now contending.

It is too melancholy a truth, that, inſtead of having gained by the trade, the company have loſt very great ſums by it ſince the ſame has been laid open, as may evidently appear by this account laſt ſtated; and it can, by the ſame rule, be clearly demonſtrated, that the ſeparate traders, jointly conſidered, have likewiſe loſt, in the ſame manner, in proportion to their exports, whatever the Remarker may, for indirect ends, alledge to the contrary, meerly to enſnare ignorant people to fall under the conſequences of ſome particular perſon's commiſſion-houſes in the plantations, &c. whoſe fraudulent practices are generouſly and honeſtly detected by one of the moſt conſiderable perſons among the ſeparate traders themſelves, in a letter to a Member of Parliament, lately printed, and copies thereof delivered at the door of the Houſe of Commons the other day; yea, the worthy gentleman who wrote that letter attended, at the ſame time, to have juſtified the contents thereof, if thought needful, before the Houſe. Which may be a ſufficient precaution to ſhopkeepers and others not to be hooked in, by the maſters of ſuch commiſſion-houſes, to be concerned with them or others in private or ſeparate adventures

tures to the coaſt of Africa; and is likewiſe a further argument for ſettling that valuable trade on ſuch a fixt and ſolid conſtitution as may preſerve and improve it, by one uniform management and publick adminiſtration, to the general credit and advantage of the whole kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging, as well as to the particular advantage of every individual who ſhall happen to be immediately concerned in the joint-ſtock now propoſed.

Then laſtly, As to this Remarker's wiſe project of a regulated open trade to Africa, I refer him and all his proſelytes to the five laſt chapters of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections (to which, by the by, none of all the advocates for an open trade have ever, to this hour, ſo much as attempted to make any anſwer, nor, by all appearance, ever will) and to the contents of the fourth chapter of this Third Part likewiſe, by which the ſincere and honeſt intentions of the company may be ſeen in few words.

CHAP. II.

Some conſiderations on the teſtimonies and evidence given on behalf of the Royal African Company and ſeparate traders to Africa alternately, for and againſt each other, before a committee of the honourable Houſe of Commons, the 18th day of February, and 2d and 9th days of March, 1708-9.

IT is an old ſaying, "Set a white dog and a black dog together by the ears, in a dirty kennel, it is odds but that they will come out both

alike, black;" and truly (all circumſtances conſidered) the alluſion cannot be thought very improper here, in relation to the preſent diſpute between the aforeſaid company and ſeparate traders; for innocence itſelf cannot plead exemption from being reviled, to the higheſt degree, whenever it falls under the misfortune of being engaged in a debate with perſons of invidious tempers, and whoſe cauſe cannot be ſupported but by recrimination, calumny and ſlander, and whoſe chief maxim is, "calumniare audacter aliquid adhærebit."

The company, finding themſelves extremely aggrieved by the unaccountable practices of the ſeparate traders, as particularly narrated in the Firſt and Second Parts of theſe Reflections, addreſſed themſelves, by petition, to the honourable Houſe of Commons, for relief, and being accordingly heard, on the 18th day of February, before a committee of the whole Houſe, many witneſſes were examined, upon the ſeveral heads of the company's petition, and all of them agreeing in proving not only the ſeveral allegations of the ſaid petition, very diſtinctly, but alſo many of the groſs abuſes charged upon the ſeparate traders in the Second Part of theſe Reflections, the committee ſeemed to be ſo far ſatisfied, that it was thought needleſs to examine the other witneſſes, whom the company had then preſent, ready to prove the ſame likewiſe: So a day was appointed for hearing the ſeparate traders upon the ſame heads.

Then the ſeparate traders having been heard, before the ſame committee, on the 2d day of March, were (it ſeems) reſolved not to be behindhand with the company in point of accuſation, and therefore, inſtead of making any real defence to the company's charge, made furious and extravagant harangues againſt the company, charging them

them back again with no leſs crimes (forſooth) than high-treaſon, piracy and murder. 2dly, They valued themſelves extremely upon the old ſtory of their magnified exports to Africa, and importation of Negroes to the plantations. 3dly, They urged that the company's forts and ſettlements were but inſignificant houſes, of little value. 4thly, That the company's accounts for maintaining the ſame were extravagant. And 5thly, That the company were making improvements on the coaſt of Africa, which would be injurious to the Weſtern Plantations. For proof of all which they produced three ſeveral letters, and had ſeveral perſons examined, whom they brought along with them as witneſſes. The merits of all which pretended proofs were, on the 9th day of March, by ſpecial appointment of the committee, ſeverally replied to very diſtinctly, with a becoming gravity and decent behaviour, by the gentlemen who ſpoke on behalf of the company, and witneſſes were then likewiſe examined, "hinc inde," in relation to the premiſſes; and then the farther conſideration of the whole matter was adjourned, by the committee, till Saturday next. But leſt that perſons who were not preſent when the committee had the premiſſes under examination may be impoſed upon by the clamorous and noiſy ſtories of the ſeparate traders, it may not be thought improper to gratify the reader with the following naked account thereof:

I. Treaſon, piracy and murder, are crimes of a very deep dye; and therefore, to prevent any groundleſs impreſſion that the horror of the very ſound of ſuch names may make upon the minds of thoſe of weaker underſtandings, we ought to ſearch into the very bottom and foundation of theſe matters of fact which were condeſcended upon, as the grounds of that clamour that the

ſeparate traders raiſed, probably to divert ſuch enquiry as they were afraid might be made into other matters that touched themſelves much more nearly.

All European companies trading to the Eaſt-Indies or the coaſt of Africa, but more particularly the Dutch and French, are impowered to make treaties of peace and commerce (and war too upon occaſion) in any of thoſe parts, according as they find the ſame ſuit beſt with their reſpective circumſtances at the time, without regard to peace or war in Europe.

And to come nearer home, our neighbours of Scotland (who are lately united with us) foreſeeing, it ſeems, the neceſſity of having their late Indian and African Company veſted with ſuch a power, obtained a ſpecial clauſe to be inſerted in the act of parliament and letters patent by which that company was eſtabliſhed, in the expreſs words following, viz. " And, by force of arms, to defend their trade and navigation, colonies, cities, towns, forts and plantations, and other their effects whatſoever; as alſo to make repriſals, and to ſeek and take reparation of damage done by ſea or land, and to make and conclude treaties of peace and commerce with the ſovereigns, princes, ſtates, rulers, governors or proprietors of the aforeſaid lands, iſlands, countries or places in Aſia, Africa or America;" as all the noblemen and gentlemen of North-Britain, who are now members of either houſe of parliament, muſt needs know.

The Royal African Company of England, by the like power, virtually comprehended (as they conceived) in the general words of their charter, 1672, and the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company likewiſe, have always exerciſed that power of making treaties

treaties of peace and commerce (and war too upon occaſion) with the French, Dutch, natives, &c. any where beyond the limits of Europe, and within the limits of their reſpective charters, otherwiſe they could never have maintained the Britiſh intereſt, in thoſe remote parts of the world, againſt the inſults and practices of the French, Dutch, natives, &c.

Some few years after the Revolution, the Royal African Company attacked and ſeized the French Company's forts of Goree and Senegal, on the north coaſt of Africa, and ſuch of the effects taken out of theſe as were proper for European markets, were, with ſome of the Royal African Company's own effects, ſhipt for England; but Captain Leech, commander of the ſhip in which theſe goods were, after maintaining an obſtinate fight, for ſeveral hours together, with ſome French privateers that attacked him near the land's-end of England, finding himſelf at laſt overpowered and boarded by the enemy, did, with very ſingular reſolution, blow up the ſhip's deck, and ſunk himſelf, ſhip and all, to prevent ſuch a valuable cargo from falling into the hands of the French.

A grant was ſoon thereafter obtained from King William, for his Majeſty's ſhare (viz. the one-half) of the ſaid capture, purſuant to the tenor of the company's charter; and after ſtanding a ſuit at law upon this defence, "That the ſaid capture did not arrive ſafe, &c." the company was obliged to pay the ſame, though the ſaid two forts of Goree and Senegal, with all the goods in them alſo, were retaken by two French men of war which happened to come upon that coaſt, in leſs than two months time after Captain Leech's departure for England, and before the Engliſh had

time to repair them, ſo as to put them in a ſtate of defence.

In the year 1695, the French King ſent ſix ſhips of force, under the command of Monſieur de Gennes, to the north coaſt of Africa, to infeſt and deſtroy as many as they could of the Engliſh Company's ſettlements in thoſe parts; which they did ſo effectually, that (chiefly by reaſon of the cowardice and negligence of the then governor, who wanted ſome part of poor Captain Leech's ſupererogating reſolution) they ſurprized and took James-Fort in Gambia-River, and after having taken out of it effects of very great value (as is particularly expreſſed in the 108th page of this volume) they in a manner demoliſhed the fort.

Upon the company's having received the unwelcome news of that great diſaſter and loſs, they, with all poſſible expedition, ſent ſhips, with men, ſtores, proviſions, goods for ſale, and other neceſſaries for repoſſeſſing and repairing their ſaid fort, which by degrees they did, but never to its former condition.

However, the Royal African Company and the French being in a continued ſtate of war upon that coaſt, the French, in the year 1702, ſent again ſome ſhips of war, with orders to do all the miſchief they could to the company's ſettlements in thoſe parts; and accordingly they took, plundered, and almoſt demoliſhed James-Fort the ſecond time, as alſo Sherbrow-Fort in York-Iſland, and Sierra-Leon-Fort in Bence-Iſland likewiſe.

Nor were theſe the company's only misfortunes, for they had their boſom-friends, the 10 per cent. men, ſupplanting and ruining their intereſt both at home and abroad, their old competitors the Dutch embar-

embarraſſing and undermining their meaſures on the Gold-Coaſt, and (after having ſtood ſuit for ſome years together) were, in the year 1703, obliged to pay about 2800*l.* as the value of two ſmall interloping veſſels, with their cargoes, taken in the year 1676, by Captain Richard Dickenſon, commander of the Hunter man of war, by virtue of King Charles the ſecond's ſpecial commiſſion for that effect, and condemned by the court of admiralty, in purſuance of the company's charter. And the remarkable ſpecialty of that caſe was this, That though they paid 1400*l.* into his Majeſty's exchequer, and 700*l.* more to the aforeſaid commander of the ſaid man of war, as their reſpective proportions of the ſaid capture, adjudged at 2800*l.* as aforeſaid, purſuant to his Majeſty's ſaid commiſſion, yet the company was made liable for the whole.

In the year 1704, four French ſhips being ſent to the north coaſt of Guinea (whereof two were ſhips of great force) they again took and plundered James-Fort, in Gambia-River, a third time, as alſo Sierra-Leon, in Bence-Iſland.

NOTA, That whenever the ſeparate traders make any mention of the company's forts and ſettlements on the north coaſt of Africa, in their prints or otherways, they repreſent them, at beſt, but according to the condition in which they were at that time only, without any regard to their former ſtrength and condition, when firſt ſurpriſed and taken by the French. And the Remarker's ſaying, in his 15th page, "That Monſieur de Gennes's taking Gambia, in the year 1695 (as related in the 108th page of this volume) is a fabulous ſtory," argues either very groſs ignorance or diſingenuity, or both; for, as the book out of which I quoted a ſhort narrative of that point of

fact was produced and referred to, by one of the gentlemen who ſpoke on behalf of the company, before the honourable committee, ſo hundreds of noblemen and gentlemen in this kingdom have copies thereof (ſome in French, and ſome in Engliſh) in their libraries. But I obſerve that an affected ignorance ſeems to be as neceſſary for the Remarker's purpoſe, in ſome caſes, as his pretended knowledge and diſcovery is in other reſpects.

Now comes on the high-treaſon formerly mentioned.

The Royal African Company of England, and the French Senegal Company, having thus waged war, and done all the miſchief they could to one another, for 13 or 14 years together (with this difference, that the French Company were always ſupported and re-inforced, from time to time, with continued aſſiſtance from the French King; whereas the Engliſh Company, warring only at their own ſole charge and expence, were extremely harraſſed, and in a manner quite ruined on the north coaſt of Guinea, by the continued attacks and depredations of the French, as afore narrated) and both companies becoming, it ſeems, at laſt wearied of this method of trading, the Engliſh Company's ſecretary (upon a propoſal made on behalf of the French Company, by a French merchant ſtill living in the city of London, touching a neutrality between the two companies on the coaſt of Africa) wrote a letter, in the year 1704, to the Engliſh Company's agent at Gambia, in the following words: "This ſerves to acquaint you of the offers and promiſes of the French Senegal Company, from Mr. La Porſtre, reſiding here in London, that they will not moleſt the company's trade, in thoſe parts, within the limits of the French

French Senegal Company (which is from Cape Blanco to the River Sierra-Leon) or diſturb any ſhip, veſſels, bark, boat, canoe, or other effects belonging to the Engliſh Company, and that they will prevent the ſame to be done by any ſhips of war, privateers, or ſhips in their ſervice, and give directions accordingly to their chief agents; and alſo that they aſſiſt you, and all this company's ſervants, from any diſturbance from the natives, and, to remove all jealouſies, they will give directions that their factory at Albadar be diſcontinued during the war, and not concern themſelves with the trade of that river. Theſe things we hold to be our intereſt, and if it appear ſo that they have given ſuch directions, and their chief in all things comply thereto, you may likewiſe, ſo far as is in your power, maintain the ſame civilities." The original was (after two or three long ſpeeches made by the ſeparate traders, exaggerating the mighty treaſon contained in it) preſented to the honourable committee, and lies now in the hands of the clerk of the honourable Houſe of Commons. And if any man find more treaſon in it than what is here expreſsly recited, then I will allow that all the ſtories publiſhed by the ſeparate traders, from firſt to laſt, ſince the commencement of this diſpute, are true.

But the ſeparate traders forgot, at the ſame time, to tell that, in the year 1703, there was a much more ſolemn quadrupartite neutrality agreed to, at Whidah, on the ſouth coaſt of Africa, by the French, Dutch, and Engliſh Company's agents there, and the Negro King of the place. However, it was thought fit to take no notice of that treaſon, becauſe indeed without it, and the protection of the Engliſh Company's fort there, none of the ſeparate traders could, with any ſafety, adven-

adventure to trade thither; and beſide too, there could be no mention made of that neutrality (or treaſon) without bringing in our friends the Dutch for a ſnack likewiſe.

But, to come nearer home, the Dutch have, during all this war, by the publick allowance of England, traded and held an open correſpondence with France, about matters relating to trade, though they be very hearty in the war, and in the intereſt of the confederacy againſt France; and it is hoped that, at leaſt, as little reaſon can be given for ſuſpecting either the Royal African Company, or their ſecretary, of any other deſign, by the aforeſaid letter, than merely ſelf-preſervation on the coaſt of Africa, as there is of ſuſpecting the much-more powerful Dutch, where perhaps the intereſt of England may be more ſenſibly touched, by their having a free and open trade where we have none. But if I were to give my humble opinion in the matter, it would be conſiſtent with what I know to be the concurrent wiſhes of many thouſands of her Majeſty's trading ſubjects, viz. That, in all declarations of war between Princes, there ſhould be a ſpecial exception, as to a neutrality in matters of trade; for the innocent and induſtrious merchant has many other hazards and dangers to encounter, beſide that of being declared ready-dreſt meat for a parcel of hungry privateers, letters of marque's men, &c. who may juſtly be reckoned to be, at beſt, but a pack of privileged ſea-robbers. So that, upon the whole matter, if the ſeparate traders had ſpoke plainly and ſaid, That the African Company's ſecretary had, by the contents of the aforerecited letter, formed a treaſonable deſign of bringing over the Pretender from France, by the way of Africa, we might eaſily have gueſſed at

the probability thereof. But to amuſe a committee of the honourable Houſe of Commons with previous harangues about ſome black treaſon or other, and to make people without doors big with the expectation of a diſcovery of ſome treaſonable plot, and to be at laſt brought-to-bed of a mere tympany, viz. the aforeſaid letter only, is ſuch a piece of aſſurance as is only conſiſtent with the other known practices of ſome of the ſeparate traders.

2dly. Now comes on the piracy.

Captain Roger Wills, maſter and commander of the ſhip Primroſe, going a voyage to the north coaſt of Africa, on account of ſome ſeparate traders, was frequently obſerved (whenever he drank any ſtrong liquors to exceſs) to fall into ſeveral fits of madneſs and diſtraction, and happening to be treating one of the Negro Kings, viz. the King of Sherbrow, fell into one of thoſe fits, and, in a romantick humour, would acknowledge no other Sovereign but that Negro King, and, in token of his allegiance, made him a preſent of the whole ſhip and cargo; which coming to the ears of Mr. Henry Greenway, the company's agent at Sherbrow, ditto Greenway, by preſents and otherways, got back the ſhip out of the Negro King's hands, gave the charge of her to the former commander's mate, and ſupplied her, out of the company's ſtores, with one bower-cable large, one bower-anchor large, one ſmall bower-anchor, and 1400 weight of clean rice, to be paid to the company at Engliſh rates, beſide 129*l.* 18*s.* value of damages ſuſtained by the company, by taking ditto ſhip from the ſaid King, as per particular account ſtated in ditto Greenway's journal. But after the ſaid ſhip was thus ſent home to the owners, and arrived

arrived ſafe at the port of London, when the company made their demand upon account of the premiſſes, the aforeſaid captain and owners, inſtead of making any juſt and grateful acknowledgment, run out into exclamations againſt the company, that their agent had robbed the ſaid captain of his ſhip, would not allow him to have the command thereof, put in his mate over his head, &c. inſomuch that the company was forced to commence a ſuit for recovery of the premiſſes in due courſe of law.

3dly. Then as to the murder charged upon the company, the matter of fact was thus: One —— Hudſon, employed in the company's ſervice at one of their forts on the ſouth coaſt of Africa, upon a ſudden private quarrel that happened between him and one of the Negro Kings, in a tranſport of paſſion immediately piſtolled the ſaid King, which (beſide the heinouſneſs of the crime) was one of the greateſt pieces of diſſervice that he could have done to the company's intereſt; for it coſt them many a pound to make peace again with the natives of that part of the coaſt. But to ſhew the company's abhorrence to that fact, they immediately (after they had advice of it) diſmiſſed the murtherer out of their ſervice, with full purpoſe never to employ him any more; and yet he is now entertained and employed by the ſeparate traders themſelves (as they could not deny before the honourable committee) though they had the aſſurance to raiſe a clamour againſt the company, upon account of a crime which they knew was committed by him, without the company's privity or conſent. But any thing to make a noiſe againſt the company, no matter what, whether true or falſe; which brings into my mind the

poet's obſervation, in another caſe, ſomewhat a-kin to this:

" Some conſcious of the crimes they dare not own,
" Do raiſe an out-cry to run others down:
" Then undiſtinguiſh'd paſs among the crowd,
" And, to 'ſcape free, cry fire! fire! aloud."

II. The ſeparate traders magnified ſtories of their exports to Africa, and importation of Negroes to the Weſtern Plantations, are ſufficiently exploded in the firſt chapter of this Third Part of theſe Reflections, &c.

III. Though the company proved the uſefulneſs, ſtate and condition of their forts and ſettlements, by the concurring teſtimonies of ſeveral poſitive witneſſes, well acquainted with the coaſt of Africa, yet the ſeparate traders would, in contradiction to theſe teſtimonies, pretend to prove the negative of that poſitive, and that by ſuch witneſſes too, as, upon other occaſions, they pretended were not admitted to have acceſs into the company's forts, and conſequently could give no juſt account of them. However, indeed, when one of their moſt ſignificant witneſſes, who had formerly been in the company's ſervice, though now, it ſeems, in a ſeparate intereſt, was cloſely examined upon that head, he could not forbear declaring, that, without forts, the trade there could not be preſerved. But more of this in the fourth chapter.

IV. As to the alledged extravagant and fictitious account charged by the company, on account of their forts, the gentlemen of the company replied, 1. That it ought to be conſidered who were the perſons that gave evidence in this matter, viz. perſons who, by their notorious treachery

treachery and breach of truſt, have rendered themſelves incapable of being received as witneſſes againſt the company, in any court of judicature whatſoever; nor were they then upon oath, &c. 2. That by their deſerting the company's ſervice, and embezzling ſuch of the company's effects as were in their hands, they fell on this way of flying moſt ungratefully in the company's face, and joining with the company's enemies, as a pretence for not accounting with the company for what was ſeverally committed to their reſpective truſts. 3. That the accounts pretended by theſe perſons to be the real accounts of ſuch ſums as they alledge were laid out on account of the forts, conſiſted only of ſuch articles, at moſt, as were actually paid by theſe perſons themſelves upon the coaſt; but that the company advancing great ſums of money here, by letters of attorney, and for ſalaries, ſtores, proviſions, impreſt-money to artificers and ſervants, &c. of which theſe perſons upon the coaſt could know but little or nothing; and the company being obliged, by the act, to give in their accounts yearly to the Curſitor-Baron, &c. they were forced to make up their accounts by the yearly eſtabliſhments, which they were obliged to pay, though perhaps ſome articles of theſe accounts might remain unpaid, at the time of giving in their aforeſaid accounts.

V. The ſeparate traders accuſed the company of making ſuch improvements on the coaſt of Africa as would ruin the Weſtern Plantations; to prove which they produce a letter from the deputy-governor to one of the company's agents, encouraging him to plant indigo, pepper and cotton in ſome of the company's iſlands on the coaſt of Africa, which, beyond all peradventure, would be

be a very great national advantage, if they could bring it to any tolerable perfection; for none can pretend that our Weſtern Plantations are capable of furniſhing this nation with ſufficient quantities of theſe commodities; and as improvements in theſe, on the coaſt of Africa, would by much leſſen the charge of our navigation, ſo thereby a vaſt yearly expence of treaſure would be ſaved to this kingdom, which is carried out now for ſuch great quantities of theſe commodities as are neceſſarily imported from the Eaſt-Indies, Holland, &c. ſo that, inſtead of a groundleſs accuſation, the gentlemen of the African Company ought, in my humble opinion, to be applauded for giving theſe renewed proofs of their endeavours to improve the African trade, to a more national advantage than can be done by any method propoſed by the ſeparate traders.

VI. A farther accuſation againſt the company was, that they took meaſures to ruin the intereſt of the ſeparate traders; for proof whereof they produced another letter, under the deputy-governor's hand, to one of the company's agents, adviſing him to take the firſt of the market, to buy up all the elephants teeth that he could get, and likewiſe buy as many ſlaves as poſſible, and to let the ſeparate traders have the refuſe of theſe. Pray what of all this? I would gladly know that merchant who does not endeavour to take the like methods, in any branch of trade whatſoever? that is, to have the firſt and choice of the market, if he can. It cannot be alledged that there was any ſuch thing in the deputy-governor's letter, as imported the out-bidding or underſelling the ſeparate traders, either as to the prices of Negroes or European goods. But the company inſtantly produced

produced to the honourable committee, original inſtructions given to the maſter of one of the ſeparate traders ſhips, and ſigned by one of the petitioning ſeparate traders for himſelf and partners, containing expreſs orders to out-bid and underſel the company, and to deliver the great guns therein mentioned as a preſent to one of the Negro Kings. Theſe inſtructions were given in the year 1699, and are now in the hands of the clerk of the honourable Houſe of Commons. By which the reader may clearly ſee, that the ſeparate traders only are juſtly chargeable for having brought the trade into diſorder and confuſion: and ſo, with reference to the alluſion of that ſaying, mentioned in the firſt lines of this chapter, I may juſtly now conclude, that though a white dog, ſullied by fighting with a black dog in a dirty kennel, may be waſhed clean and white again, yet a dog that is black by nature can never be waſhed white, though all the water in the Thames were poured upon him.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A clear demonſtration, from points of fact, that the recovery, preſervation and improvement of Britain's ſhare of the trade to Africa, is wholly owing to the induſtry, care and application of the Royal African Company.

BY the progreſs of our trade to Africa, ſince the beginning of the laſt century, it is evident, that the impracticability of carrying on and preſerving that trade, in any open method, was always the occaſion of eſtabliſhing companies, from time to time, with excluſive privileges, by charters under the great ſeal of England; and that, whenever infractions were made upon thoſe privileges, the trade fell always, of courſe, into diſorders.

By a certificate from the Cuſtom-houſe, it appears that, in full four years time, immediately preceding the firſt charter granted by King Charles II. to the preſent company's predeceſſors, when England had but one caſtle (called Cormanteen-Caſtle) on the Gold-Coaſt, and that the trade to Africa lay open to all the people of England, viz. in the years 1657, 1658, 1660, 1661 (the regiſters of 1659 being burnt) all the woollen manufactures exported from England to Africa, in the aforeſaid four years time, were only 669 ſayes and 484 perpets, making in all 1153 pieces.

By a certificate, under the hands of 40 of the principal perſons concerned in the woollen manufactures in London, proper for the trade to Africa, it appears that the new manufactures of annabaſſes,

nicanees, tapſeils and brawles, were introduced by the Royal African Company's particular direction and encouragement, for the trade to Africa; and that the ſaid company have annually taken off great quantities of the ſaid goods, and thereby given employment to above 500 perſons, in and about the city of London, for the making and dying of the ſaid goods.

By a certificate, under the hands of 64 of the principal perſons concerned in the woollen manufactures in Kidderminſter, proper for the trade to Africa, it appears that the new manufactures of boyſadoes and ſtriped carpets, which are made in and about Kidderminſter, in the county of Worceſter, were introduced by the particular directions of the Royal African Company; and that the ſaid company, having annually taken off great quantities of the ſaid goods, have thereby given employment to above 1000 perſons in and about that place, and cauſed an extraordinary conſumption of Engliſh wool, of which the ſaid new manufactures are only made.

By another certificate from the Cuſtom-houſe, it appears, that in four years time (after the abovementioned and other manufactures were, by the company's particular direction and encouragement, brought to a ſtaple goodneſs) before the Revolution, viz. in the years 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, the company exported from England to the coaſt of Africa 8208 ſayes, 15,595 perpets, 2801 boyſadoes, 1776 Welſh plains, 250 bayes, 165 1-half broad-cloths, 1520 blankets, 600 yards of flannels, 1170 Engliſh carpets, 104 crapes, 2067 fine annabaſſes, and 69,388 ordinary ditto, making in all 103,644 pieces; which exceeds the former four years exports (while the trade was open, before King Charles II. granted an excluſive charter) by

102,491

102,491 pieces of woollen manufactures, and bears near the ſame proportion to the exports which were made, during the aforeſaid four years of open trade, as 100 does to 1; which is ſuch an improvement as all the interlopers and private traders from England to Africa could never, in the leaſt, pretend to have made, either before or ſince that time.

And leſt it ſhould be pretended that theſe great numbers of pieces of woollen manufactures exported by the Company to Africa, might poſſibly amount but to a ſmall value, it appears by the Cuſtom-houſe, as well as the company's books, that their exports, in the year 1683, amounted to the value of 78,028*l.* 18*s.* their exports in 1684 amounted to 54,932*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* their exports in 1685 amounted to 82,346*l.* 1*d.* and their exports in 1686 amounted to 66,128*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* which, in an average, is ſomething more than 70,000*l.* per ann. as is particularly ſtated in the 276th page of this volume.

But leſt it ſhould be pretended here likewiſe, that the exports of theſe four years are deſignedly picked out, as the greateſt which the company ever made, while they enjoyed the privileges of their charter, it may be ſeen by the ſame books, and by the abſtract in the aforeſaid 276th page, whether we look backward or forward, till the Revolution, that their exports in the year 1682, immediately preceding the ſaid four years, amounted to 89,616*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* and that their exports in the year 1687, immediately ſucceeding the ſaid four years, amounted to 77,695*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* either of which far exceeds what the company ſay their exports were uſually in an average; which is a demonſtration that they do not ſwell up their computations at random, to impoſe upon the

nation (as the ſeparate traders do) but keep always within compaſs.

In thoſe days, the company being intire maſters of the trade, had ſuch a diſtinct and uniform view thereof, that they always proportioned their exports to the vend which they found for the ſame on the coaſt of Africa, and as they could improve the one, ſo they did enlarge the other, with a due regard always to the general intereſt of the kingdom and the plantations, as well as to their own particular advantage; for it cannot be diſputed, but that, as they were the firſt introducers and encouragers of the woollen manufactures here, proper for the coaſt of Africa, ſo they gave better prices for the ſame to the manufactors, than the private traders have done ever ſince: and as they then commanded the markets on the coaſt of Guinea, by getting at leaſt cent. per cent. advance on theſe manufactures, and purchaſing the beſt Negro ſlaves for 3*l.* or 3*l.* 10*s.* at moſt, per head, and the other products of Africa proportionally, ſo it is paſt diſpute, that they ſold theſe ſlaves again in the plantations from 13*l.* to 16*l.* per head, as appears by the accounts of their ſales for many years together, and by the living teſtimonies of maſters of ſhips who ſerved the company at that time.

Moreover, the company, in thoſe days, imported not only great quantities of cam-wood, elephants teeth, wax, and other goods from the coaſt of Africa, to be manufactured here, but likewiſe as much gold as coined ſeveral hundred thouſand guineas in the Tower of London; whereas, ever ſince the trade has been laid open, in 1697, the company and ſeparate traders have not coined 20,000 guineas, in 10 years time, together.

Yea

Yea further, it is already made ſufficiently evident to the honourable Houſe of Commons, that the company have been at a continued vaſt charge and expence, in the purchaſing, building, maintaining and repairing forts, factories and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, in the making and preſerving alliances with the natives, and in ſtruggling to preſerve and improve the Britiſh intereſt there againſt the inſults and undermining practices of the French, Dutch, and all other foreign competitors whatſoever, ever ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment to this hour; ſo that they have, even almoſt to a wonder, borne the heavy burden of preſerving that trade to the nation, without having had the benefit of their charter ever ſince the Revolution, but, on the contrary, met with greater diſcouragements, both at home and abroad, than ever they were willing to expreſs.

All the aforeſaid particulars are ſuch poſitive points of fact and demonſtrable truths, that, upon due enquiry and examination, it is not in the power of malice itſelf to overturn or confute any one of them.

And now, ſince it is plainly evident that the company, with a ſmall joint-ſtock, under one uniform management, have done ſo great things for their own and this nation's credit and intereſt, while they enjoyed the excluſive privileges of their charter, any reaſonable perſon may eaſily judge to what a vaſt degree they might have raiſed and extended that trade, to the general advantage of this kingdom (when, by the trade itſelf, their capital ſtock was very greatly encreaſed) had they not been interrupted in their progreſs, yea, and in a manner quite ſuppreſſed, by the infractions of private traders, and the fatal conſequences of di-

vided and interfering intereſts among ourſelves, both at home and abroad.

Then let us ſuppoſe that the interlopers, or ſeparate traders (who make ſuch a mighty buſtle now) had found the ſtate of the trade to Africa in the ſame condition, and under the ſame circumſtances it was in before the Royal African Company and their predeceſſors were eſtabliſhed with excluſive privileges by King Charles II. viz. without any forts or caſtles on the Gold-Coaſt (except Cormanteèn-caſtle, now poſſeſſed by the Dutch) without any alliances or confederations with the natives, without factories or correſpondents in the ſeveral ports of trade along that coaſt, without having any ſortable cargoes from hence, proper for that trade, but what muſt have been firſt brought hither from Holland, and without the nation's having any true knowledge or experience of the nature and circumſtances of that trade, or indeed any great humour or inclination to proſecute it, except in ſo far as the King and ſome few particular perſons had then a mind to encourage and protect any ſociety that would undertake to raiſe a joint-ſtock for carrying it on, chiefly with the view of ſupplying the plantations with Negroes, and to prevent the depopulating his Majeſty's other dominions, by carrying too many ſervants from hence. In that caſe, what would have become of Britain's ſhare of the trade to Africa, if that trade had been ſtill left open, without this or any other ſuch company's being ever eſtabliſhed, and theſe new ſeparate pretenders left at their liberty to trade thither, or not, as they pleaſed? Why truly, the caſe is very obvious, and the anſwer is plainly this; We ſhould, by this time, have had the very ſame acceſs to the

Gold-Coaſt of Africa that we have to the Spice-Iſlands in Aſia (which is none at all) and the trade to Africa had been irrecoverably loſt to this nation, without ever knowing, or having ſo much as a juſt notion of the value of what we had loſt: and even as it is, were it not for the books, records, and regular correſpondences of the Royal African Company, and the experience of ſeveral perſons concerned with and employed by them, both abroad and at home, the nation would be, as yet, in profound ignorance of the true nature and ſtate of that trade, nor could any tolerable account thereof be given, even at this time, for the information of either houſe of parliament.

But ſo it is, that, for reſcuing this trade out of the hands of the Dutch (who, before the Royal African Company was eſtabliſhed, were, in a manner, the only conſiderable traders to Guinea) and for preſerving and improving the ſame to a national advantage, the company have, with much induſtry and application, and at a very great charge and continued expence, purchaſed, built, maintained and repaired, from time to time, ſeveral conſiderable forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, made and renewed, as occaſion required, ſeveral alliances and confederations with the natives, introduced, directed and encouraged the making of ſundry new manufactures in England, proper for the trade to Africa, which the company were, at their firſt ſetting up, forced to buy from Holland, viz. Leyden ſayes, ſcarlet cloths, fuſtians, knives, muſkets, boyſadoes, annabaſſes, &c. have likewiſe accuſtomed the natives of Africa to take and conſume ſeveral woollen and other manufactures of England, which were never ſent to Guinea before the company was eſtabliſhed;

and, in a word, have, even under the preſſure of all the complicated difficulties and diſcouragements which they met with, theſe many years paſt, ſtruggled to preſerve that valuable trade to the nation, until they could have an opportunity of laying their caſe and grievances now before the parliament, and ſee what the wiſdom of the parliament may think fit to do therein.

Now, let the ſeparate traders pretend what they will, it is moſt certain that, ever ſince the trade to Africa has been laid open, in 1697, all their trade, to a mere trifle, has been confined to the Gold-Coaſt, and that too within the influence of the company's forts and caſtles, otherways the natives could not have turned the ſlavery upon us ſo much as they have done, by depreciating our goods, and advancing the prices of ſlaves to a moſt intolerable degree; and how much ſoever the private traders may ſeem to ſlight the company's forts, that is but looking one way and rowing another, for if they ſpeak their minds plainly, it will be found that they ſlight theſe forts merely with deſign (if they could compaſs their ends with the parliament) to get the property of them, for little or nothing, to themſelves; and, if they are not ſtupidly infatuated, they muſt needs know that, if we had not had any forts on that coaſt all this time, the natives durſt not have traded either with the Engliſh Company or ſeparate traders; yea, and ſuppoſing the ſeparate traders pretended merit, upon account of their exportations, were as real as they would make the world believe it is, yet ſtill, even that ſame is owing to the foundation which the company have laid, for "facile eſt inventis addere" and a dwarf ſtanding upon a giant's ſhoulders ought not to look

look down with ſcorn, and forget who it is that ſupports him from falling to the ground.

As to any trade that the ſeparate traders pretend to have had on the Quaqua, Callabar, or Angola Coaſts, where the company have no forts, there is too much ground to ſuſpect that the moſt of their expeditions along theſe coaſts deſerved ſome other name *.

That the ſeparate traders exports, and the numbers of Negroes carried by them to the plantations, are not the ſame as they pretend, is already, in the firſt chapter of this Third Part, made evident to a demonſtration. But whatever their exports may have been, it can eaſily be demonſtrated that, if all the exports to Africa, ſince the trade was laid open in 1697, had been under one entire intereſt and uniform excluſive management, at leaſt the ſame numbers of Negroes might have been purchaſed that really have been, and, inſtead of 100,000*l.* value directly returned of African produce, ſuch as gold, &c. ſince that time, theſe returns might probably have amounted to 8 or 900,000*l.* at leaſt; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that the nation has loſt ſo much by not having the trade ſettled on a fixed and ſolid conſtitution all this time. Which will appear to be no groundleſs ſuggeſtion, if it be conſidered what the company's imports of gold, &c. have been, when they had the trade excluſive.

And, as a farther proof of the company's having managed that trade to a national advantage, while they had it excluſive, before the Revolution, the chief inhabitants of the iſland of Jamaica, having, in the year 1688, reſolved to addreſs the King, in relation to the ſettling of the Spaniſh

* Vide the Second Part of theſe Reflections.

Spaniſh aſſiento in that iſland, took occaſion, by the by, to enumerate and extol the many and ſingular advantages which the Royal African Company's trade, and importation of Negroes, had produced to all the planters and other inhabitants of that iſland in general; as is particularly expreſſed in a certificate given under their hands at Jamaica, April 12, 1688, which certificate was preſented and read in council, before the late King and Queen, and was ſigned by the ſeveral perſons after-named, viz.

Hend. Moleſworth,	F. Fuller,
Sam. Bernard,	Sam. Barry,
John White,	Edw. Yeomans,
Tho. Freeman,	James Walker,
Whitgult Ailmer,	E. Staynoon,
Tho. Aiſcough,	William Hutchinſon,
Nich. Phillpott,	JOHN HEATHCOTE
Anth. Swymmer,	James Bradſhaw,
Simon Muſgrave,	Charles Sadler,
John Towers,	CHARLES KNIGHT,
Will. Francis Hall,	Edmund Rives,
Jona. Wood,	Sam. Lewis,
Lancellot Taltot,	Richard Scott,
James Riſbye,	James Baniſter,
Robert Phillips,	Francis Blackmore,
Thomas Nutteel,	John Mohun,
William Pulford,	Thomas Clarke,
Joſeph Knapman,	Samuel Foxley,
Thomas Trapham,	Thomas Grey,
William Puckle,	James Goddard,
Richard Slinger,	William Stevens,
Henry Cake,	William Scarlet,
Auſter Head,	Philip Harris,
T. Willſon,	Edward Puſdy,

Joſ.

Joſ. Decoſta,
Iſaac Cotinho,
David Alberry,
Fulk Roſe,
Edward Broughton,
John Gomerſall,
Joſ. Serjeant,
Thomas Pepys,
RICHARD LLOYD,
Richard Morſe,
Joſeph Bedoe,
Philip Jennings,
James Prinreek,
Solomon Hell,
John Smart,
Na. Stroughton,
Will. Mingham,
Joſ. Jennings,
Philip Gower,
Peter Norman,
Sam. Jones,
John Wright,
SAM. KNIGHT,
Edward Daniel,
Charles Penhallow,
Francis Hanſon,
Henry Ward,
Walter Ruding,
Smith Kettle,
Edward Brooke,
Moſeſt. Deſurun. Cardoſa,
Abram Gomez Porte.

By all which it is evidently demonſtrated, that the Royal African Company have been both the real founders and preſervers of the African trade to this nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Several arguments againſt ſettling the trade to Africa in any of the open methods propoſed by the ſeparate traders, together with ſome propoſals for ſettling the ſame, by act of parliament, upon the foot of an excluſive joint-ſtock, as being, for many pregnant reaſons, conceived to be the only conſtitution which can properly be adapted to the nature and peculiar circumſtances of that trade, ſo as to preſerve and carry it on to a national advantage.

IT is moſt certain, that a conſtitution may be very well ſuited to one branch of foreign trade, which can never be properly adapted to the nature and circumſtances of another trade, that is unavoidably attended with quite different circumſtances, and conſequently muſt require a different conſtitution, and different rules of management.

Some years ago, nothing could pleaſe the ſeparate traders but an open trade to Africa, without any method or regulation at all; but ſad experience having convinced both themſelves and others of the folly of that method, they have been, theſe two years paſt, pleading for a regulated open trade, upon the foot of the Turkey Company's conſtitution; but being made to underſtand, by the arguments publiſhed on behalf of the Royal African Company, that (beſide the vaſt diſparity that is between the circumſtances of the trade to Africa and that to Turkey) ſuch a conſtitution as that of the Turkey Company would not ſuit

ſuit with their other deſires, and would even exclude the far greater part of their own number from the privilege of trading thither, they fly thus from one conſtitution to another, without conſidering the true nature of things, and ſeem to fix now, at laſt, on the conſtitution of the Ruſſia Company, as a model of what they would be at; which (if obtained) would labour under the following difficulties, with many more too tedious to be here narrated.

I. The nature and circumſtances of the African trade is as far different from that of the Ruſſia trade, as it is from that of our trades to Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. and in ſhort, no regulated company, without an excluſion and a joint-ſtock, was ever eſtabliſhed here, or elſewhere, except for trading to places where the nation's intereſt and merchant's grievances are, or can be conveniently repreſented and redreſſed, by ambaſſadors or other publick miniſters; and no other nation in the world (beſides England) ever attempted trading to Africa, otherwiſe than by an excluſive joint-ſtock, except the Portugueze, whoſe forts and intereſt on the Gold-Coaſt have, by that means only, fallen a ſacrifice to the Dutch, who make them now pay 25 per cent. for a permiſſion to trade thither; which are poſitive points of fact, that cannot be denied by the ſeparate traders themſelves.

II. As forts and ſettlements are acknowledged to be abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation and improvement of the African trade, ſo it would be of very dangerous conſequence to truſt the maintenance, preſervation, and needful reparations of theſe (beſides innumerable other expences, always

neceſſary to anſwer the exigencies and many unexpected emergencies which do, and muſt frequently happen) to ſuch precarious and uncertain funds as muſt depend wholly upon the voluntary and contingent contributions of a very uncertain number of perſons, of ſeparate intereſts, and trading at pleaſure, according as they happen to be either gainers or loſers by the trade.

III. While the trade to Africa is carried on, by any open method whatſoever, it is not humanely conceivable how to manage matters ſo, but that the advantage of the trade muſt lie on the ſide of the natives, and they will keep the ſlavery on us, as at preſent they do, by depreciating our woollen and other manufactures, and not only keeping up, but alſo advancing the prices of Negroes and other African productions to a moſt intolerable degree, the former of which is juſtly the complaint of this nation, and the latter is the occaſion of the ſeveral petitions from the plantations, now under conſideration of the honourable Houſe of Commons, for redreſs.

IV. No perſon or perſons, of any tolerable reputation or capacity, can ever be prevailed upon to go and reſide in parts ſo remote, where the climate is ſo contagious, upon ſuch ſmall encouragements as the ſcheme propoſed by the ſeparate traders can admit of; yea, ſuppoſing ſuch could be found, yet, having neither ſufficient credit there, nor a diſcretionary power to launch out ſums of money or quantities of goods upon needful occaſions, but only to attend their poſts, and receive their poor yearly ſalaries, the Dutch, French, and other competitors, knowing the depth of their purſes, might eaſily take ſuch meaſures with the natives as would quickly ſupplant the Britiſh intereſt

tereſt there, and oblige the natives to have no manner of dealing with us; which, of courſe, would unavoidably render the forts and ſettlements to be of no real uſe, and conſequently be abandoned, and the trade as irrecoverably loſt to the nation as the Spice-Iſlands in the Eaſt-Indies.

V. Upon the foot of any regulated open trade, where all perſons are left to their liberty of trading or not trading, as they pleaſe, no imaginable, real, national ſecurity can be given, either for the exportation of certain quantities of manufactures and merchandize, or for making the needful contributions for anſwering the aforeſaid ends, or for the importation of ſufficient numbers of Negroes to the plantations, at certain moderate rates.

VI. In the method of an open trade, upon any regulated foot whatſoever, it is impoſſible to make any advantageous contract, or ſettle the aſſiento for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with any conſiderable numbers of Negroes, at certain and determinate prices, which can be inſtantly demonſtrated, if required; and the many poſitive arguments for ſettling the African trade, on the foot of an excluſive joint-ſtock, are ſo plainly and fully ſtated in the 6th chapter of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections, that it is needleſs to repeat them here again.

All which weighty conſiderations may (it is humbly hoped) be ſufficient motives to induce the parliament to ſettle the trade to Africa, now, upon the foot of one or other of the two following ſchemes, as the only ſuitable means for preſerving and improving that trade, and ſupporting thouſands of people, who, of courſe, muſt be ruined without it.

THE

THE FIRST SCHEME.

I. THAT the preſent Royal African Company be, by act of parliament, eſtabliſhed, excluſive of all others, in their trade, from the Equinoctial Line northward, which is 23 degres north latitude.

II. That they be obliged, by ſuch eſtabliſhment, to raiſe a ſtock, ſuch as the parliament ſhall judge ſufficient, for carrying on, preſerving and improving that part of the trade to the utmoſt.

III. That all the reſt of the coaſt of Africa, from the Line ſouthward (being upwards of 35 degrees latitude) be open to all her Majeſty's ſubjects, for trading thither, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch regulations, as the wiſdom of the parliament ſhall think fit, without their being obliged to pay the preſent 10 per cent. duty, or any part thereof, or any other acknowledgment whatſoever, to the company.

But if the wiſdom of the parliament ſhall think it more advantageous to the nation, to have the trade of all the coaſt that is comprehended within the limits of the company's charter carried on by one excluſive company, upon the foot of a general national ſubſcription, the following ſcheme is, in that caſe, humbly propoſed:

THE SECOND SCHEME.

I. THAT the forts and ſettlements of the preſent Royal African Company (commonly called their dead-ſtock) which, for the encouragement of ſubſcribers, are eſtimated by them

at

at 150,000*l.* only (though, all circumſtances conſidered, they ſtood the company in more than treble that ſum) be declared to be the firſt article of that general ſubſcription, at the aforeſaid valuation of 150,000*l.* as being abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the trade.

II. That, upon the foundation of the aforeſaid forts and ſettlements (eſtimated as above) there be a general ſubſcription taken, for ſuch ſums as the wiſdom of the parliament ſhall judge ſufficient for carrying on and improving the ſaid whole trade, by a capital joint-ſtock, excluſive as aforeſaid.

III. That the ſaid excluſive company be obliged to export yearly, from Great-Britain, to the amount of 100,000*l.* value, in manufactures and other merchandize.

IV. That if, at any time, there ſhall happen to be any complaint, or complaints, from any of the plantations, in relation to the ſcarcity or high prices of Negroes, the ſaid company may, in ſuch caſe, be ſubjected to any expedient that her Majeſty in council, or the parliament, ſhall think fit to direct and appoint, for ſatisfying all the juſt deſires of the planters.

V. That the aforeſaid 150,000*l.* being the preſent company's intereſt in the ſaid general ſubſcription, together with their quick-ſtock (all neceſſary charges deducted) be ſubjected, by the parliament, to the diſcharge of the ſaid preſent company's debts, in the firſt place, and then the overplus to the adventurers.

The alternative of the aforeſaid two ſchemes ſeems (according to my apprehenſion) to be ſo fairly, equally, and impartially calculated, with reſpect to the intereſt of all parties immediately

concerned, and the general intereſt of the whole kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging, that (with all the penetration of thought that I am maſter of) I cannot poſſibly foreſee any material or reaſonable objection that can be urged againſt the ſame, other than thoſe clamorous, empty and frivolous ſuggeſtions that have been, all along, injuriouſly propagated by the ſeparate traders, in relation to a pretended monopolizing and ſtock-jobbing trade, which, to any reaſonable man's ſatisfaction, are ſufficiently obviated in the 7th chapter of the Firſt Part of theſe Reflections.

But if, after all the overtures and conſiderations that have been, or can be offered, it ſhould happen to be reſolved, that "delenda eſt Carthago," and that an open trade to Africa, in the method of a regulated company, ſhould be the word, then the following conſiderations and difficulties would naturally occur.

It is already acknowledged, and agreed to by all parties, that forts and ſettlements are abſolutely neceſſary, both for the preſervation and improvement of the African trade.

It is alſo known, that upon the publick faith of an excluſive charter in 1672 (which was then reckoned to be an indubitable ſecurity) the Royal African Company were induced to launch out vaſt ſums of money, from time to time, in the purchaſing, building, maintaining and repairing the ſaid forts and ſettlements, at a very great charge and continued expence, for many years together, ever ſince, and have therefore the ſole right of property and poſſeſſion of the ſame.

Yea, though any ſuch charter had never been granted, yet ſtill the preſent company have a juſt, legal, and unqueſtionable right to the property, poſ-

poſſeſſion, and ſole benefit and advantage of theſe forts and ſettlements, as being in the actual and uninterrupted poſſeſſion of them all along, and as having all the ſolemnities that the law requires, in any ſuch caſe; for they never ſo much as ſet up a ſtandard, and much leſs built a fort or eſtabliſhed a factory, on any part of the coaſt of Africa, without the ſolemn ſuffrage and conſent of the native proprietors, for which they always paid certain daſhees, or preſents, in the nature of fines, as alſo a yearly ground-rent for the ſame, which they ſtill pay to this hour.

Theſe propoſitions being premiſed, the ſeveral following ſcruples and queries will naturally ariſe.

1. Whether the preſent company may be willing to part with the property and poſſeſſion of theſe forts and ſettlements, which coſt them ſo dear, otherwiſe than upon ſuch conditions as they have already propoſed?

2. In caſe they ſhould not be willing to part with theſe forts and ſettlements, otherwiſe than as aforeſaid, how far they may be compelled, by the parliament, to part with them, for a ſuitable equivalent?

3. In caſe they ſhould be compelled to part with them for an equivalent, by what rule that equivalent ſhould be computed, adjuſted and liquidated to a certain determinate ſum? And

4. Who ſhould be obliged to the payment of any equivalent ſum ſo liquidated?

To the firſt of theſe queries the company can beſt give a ſolution, whenever they think it proper for them to impart their minds on that head.

As to the ſecond query, it would be preſumptuous to ſay that there can be any limits ſet to the power of parliaments, other than what are conſiſtent with their own wiſdom, and the common rules of equity and juſtice, which, no doubt, they will carefully obſerve in this caſe, as well as in all other reſpects whatſoever. And ſo I take it for granted, that if, upon any ſuppoſed national account, they ſhould think fit to oblige the preſent company to part with the property of theſe forts and ſettlements, it would be upon ſuch a foot as would fully compenſate thoſe advantages which the company might reaſonably hope to have reaped from the produce of that right of property, if allowed to improve it in their own method; or at leaſt would make up all their loſſes and diſburſements in acquiring, improving and maintaining that right.

Then, as to the liquidation of an equivalent for theſe forts and ſettlements, it is to be conſidered, that though the company have already, for the encouragement of ſubſcribers to a new joint-ſtock, upon the foot of an excluſive parliamentary conſtitution, eſtimated the ſaid forts and ſettlements at ſo low a value as 150,000*l.* yet, if the motive or condition of that low eſtimation be not complied with, and that, through the want of ſuch a conſtitution, they muſt loſe all hopes, both of retrieving their great loſſes already ſuſtained, and of reaping any advantage from the foundation which they have laid, they are ſtill where they were, and may very juſtly and equitably inſiſt upon being either allowed to enjoy the ſole right, property, poſſeſſion, benefit and advantage of theſe forts and ſettlements, by virtue of their acquired right from the native proprietors, and their own chargeable

chargeable improvements thereof, or otherwiſe to have ſuch an equivalent for the ſame as may ſatisfy all their juſt debts, and refund all the money advanced and loſt by them in that trade, together with the intereſt thereof; which three articles will, upon a juſt computation, amount to a ſum very little ſhort of a million ſterling. But ſtill it ought to lie upon the company to make that appear.

Nor can this rule of computing and liquidating an equivalent, for the Royal African Company's quick and dead ſtock, be thought unreaſonable, when it is conſidered that it is the very ſame rule by which the equivalent paid to the late Indian and African Company of Scotland was ſtated and liquidated, though they had no ſuch forts and ſettlements in their poſſeſſion at the time of their diſſolution; and as I am far from repining at that company's having got ſuch an equivalent, or thinking that they got any more than their right juſtly entitled them to have got, ſo it is reaſonable to hope that the wiſdom and juſtice of the parliament will never be prevailed upon to oblige this company to part with their right of property and poſſeſſion, otherwiſe than with their own conſent, or upon the foot of an equivalent to be ſtated by the aforeſaid rule; and were they to aſſign their intereſt and poſſeſſion to the Dutch, Portugueſe, or any other foreign nation, it is not improbable but that they might come to a much better market.

Suppoſing then, that a certain ſum were ſtated and liquidated, in manner aforeſaid, as an equivalent for the ſaid forts and ſettlements, it ſtill remains to be conſidered, Who ſhould pay that ſum to the preſent company? Not the govern-

ment (I ſuppoſe) for many reaſons that I will not pretend to give an account of. It naturally then follows, that whoever are to have the benefit of this ſuppoſed new conſtitution, by trading ſeparately to Africa, muſt pay for theſe forts and ſettlements; but who theſe are, or may be, it is hard to tell, becauſe every man (upon the ſuppoſition of ſuch a free conſtitution) is at his liberty to trade, or not to trade, as he thinks fit, and until he trade, he cannot be obliged to pay any quota of the ſaid equivalent. And ſo, while the preſent company will be expecting a liquidation and payment of the eſtimated value of their forts and ſettlements, they may all fall to the ground, or (which is worſe) into the hands of the French, Dutch, &c. for want of the needful ſupplies to maintain and repair them.

To ſay (as the ſeparate traders have already ſuggeſted, by way of prevention) that the 10 per cent. duty, paid by them to the company, theſe 10 or 11 years paſt, ought to intitle them to a proportional ſhare of the property of theſe forts and ſettlements, is, in effect, the ſame as to ſay, that a tenant, paying a yearly rent to his landlord, for any houſe, tenement or manor, according to agreement, ſhould, at the expiration of his leaſe, pretend to a ſhare of the property, in proportion to the rent that he had paid as aforeſaid.

It is a conſtant rule, that no purchaſer muſt be allowed the privilege of ſetting a price upon another perſon's property; for the wiſeſt of men aſſures us, that "It is naught, it is naught, ſaith the buyer." Nor is it poſſible for ſome people ſeemingly to ſlight the uſe or value of the African company's forts and ſettlements now, more than they formerly ſlighted the old Eaſt-India Company's

pany's forts, though at laſt, rather than want them, they gave 330,000*l.* for them, having only the addition of a tea-pot into the bargain. And if trading to Africa by an excluſive joint-ſtock be adjudged ſafeſt by the Parliament, it is odds but that ſome of thoſe, who now decry that method, would be ready to take a ſlice of that ſhoulder of mutton likewiſe, whenever they ſhould find it a-going; and, though 20 new experiments were tried, one after another, I am perſuaded, in my mind, that the trade to Africa will be ſettled, at laſt, upon the foot of ſome excluſive conſtitution, as the moſt ſuitable to the nature of that trade.

A

REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS

For putting in Execution the Act, intituled

An Act for the taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom.

From CHARLES DAVENANT, L. L. D.
Inſpector-General of the Exports and Imports.

PART I.

A

REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS, &c.

PART I.

I Have received from this honourable board a precept, dated July 17, 1711, directing that I ſhould lay before you diſtinct annual accounts for the ten years laſt, to be atteſted before you, on oath, of the importations and exportations of all commodities, particularly the woollen manufactures, into and out of this kingdom, to and from what places the ſame were exported and imported, and upon what ſhipping ſuch exports and imports were made, with my obſervations how the balance of the trade of this kingdom ſtood each year, with reſpect to foreign parts, and the increaſe of freight of foreign ſhipping uſing this

this kingdom; and whether I have ſuſpected any ſhort or over entries have been made of the woollen manufacture, and of what quantity, value, or any other obſervations I have made, relating to the trade of this kingdom

In obedience to which precept, I ſhall give an account of as many branches of trade as poſſibly can be extracted from my ledgers, from the date of the ſaid precept to the ſitting of the parliament, and, at preſent, ſhall lay before you ſuch an account as is required, with an eſtimate of the firſt coſt or value of the reſpective goods and merchandizes, and a ſtate of the balance of trade for five diſtinct years, viz. from Chriſtmas 1699, to Chriſtmas 1704,

Between England { France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Africa, and Newfoundland.

The ſhortneſs of time not permitting me to give you the like account of trade between England and all other countries, I have pitched upon the aforementioned trafficks, in regard they may be moſt the ſubject of debate in the Houſe of Commons, and may moſt want the help of Parliament; and ſhall lay before you the like account of trade, from the year 1704 to the year 1709, between England and the ſaid countries, as faſt as they can poſſibly be diſpatched.

And for as much as the great demand that has been for corn of late years, may have made ſome change in the general balance, I have thought it my duty alſo to lay before you a particular account of corn exported for 11 years, viz. from 1699 to 1710.

And, becauſe the great payments every year made, to ſubſiſt our own troops, and to pay

ſubſidies to foreign Princes, as well as to carry on the Eaſt-India and Eaſtland trades, may have had a conſiderable influence in the general balance, I have thought it might be of ſervice to annex the quantities of gold and ſilver exported, from the time the regiſter was appointed, viz. anno 1695, to anno 1710.

The woollen manufacture likewiſe bearing ſo large a proportion in all the exported Engliſh product, I ſhall lay before you a particular account of that branch of our exportations.

And becauſe the tin to be made by contract, viz. 1600 ton ſtannery weight, which, reduced into averdupois, yields 1714 ton 508 pounds, is more than is taken off by our foreign exportation and home conſumption, which may tend to make that commodity become a drug abroad, and ſo hurt the kingdom, I have thought it might be uſeful to give you the exports thereof, from 1699 to 1710, in the 10 diſtinct years.

The long war theſe kingdoms have carried on, and no treaty of commerce having been ſettled during the ſhort interval of peace, muſt needs have made great alterations in the channel of trade; and therefore I thought it would be a ſatisfaction to this honourable board, and give ſome light into the preſent condition of trade (where we have loſt and where we have gained, and how the balance may probably now ſtand, which I perceive to be the ſcope and intention of your precept) if I could lay before you any account of our dealings with the reſt of the commercial world before the war, when trade, for ſome years at leaſt, had gone in a ſettled channel. In order to this, all poſſible enquiries hav been made at the Cuſtom-houſe for an abſtract of the exports and imports, for one or two years before the commencement of the war, but

but I cannot find any ſuch abſtract was kept. I hoped at leaſt to have been able to give you an account of the importations of wines and brandies, for ſome years before the war, which were ſo large a part of our trade with France, becauſe there has been a long time an office at the Cuſtom-houſe particularly appointed to compute the duties upon thoſe goods, but upon ſearch no regiſter is left of thoſe entries, each officer having taken away his own papers; and a neceſſity at laſt appearing, to know the quantity and value of ſundry goods imported into, and exported from, this kingdom, upon a motion from the Houſe of Lords, an Examiner of the Exports and Imports was appointed, which office began in the year 1696, and was executed for ſome years, with great ſkill and induſtry, by my worthy predeceſſor Mr. Culliford, who, in poſting of his ledgers, has ſet a valuation upon all the reſpective goods exported from hence, according to their current price here at home, and, in the imported goods, according to their current price abroad, by the judgment of the ableſt foreign merchants, to which valuation I have kept, excepting in inſtances where there has been ſome apparent change; and upon examining it will be found, that both of us have come as near the truth as things of this nature can well be brought.

In order regularly to conſider and compute the trade of England with any other country, and to form any judgment how it is like to ſtand hereafter, in caſe of peace, it would be requiſite to know how it ſtood before the war had made ſuch alterations in divers branches of it; but of this no trace is to be found at the Cuſtom-houſe before 1688, nor afterwards, till an Inſpector of the Exports and Imports was appointed, except what was laid before the Lords, from the year 1692

to 1695 incluſive; whereof I can procure but imperfect copies.

Out of the voluminous books of entries remaining in the Cuſtom-houſe, to make ſuch an abſtract for three or four years, as might let us into the quantity and value of goods exported and imported between us and the nations with whom we deal, would be the work of more than two years, though ſeveral additional hands ſhould be employed. All the light I have been able to gain into the tranſactions of paſt times, relating to the exports and imports, is from a manuſcript remaining in the Cuſtom-houſe, which contains an abſtract drawn out almoſt in the ſame form as the ledgers of my office are now kept, with the then valuations of all the commodities, but it only gives an account of the ſeveral goods and merchandizes, of the growth of England, exported out of the city of London, and an account of the ſeveral goods and merchandizes that were imported into the ſaid city, from Michaelmas 1662 to Michaelmas 1663, and from Michaelmas 1668 to Michaelmas 1669, but it takes no notice of what we properly call the re-exports, viz. foreign goods and plantation goods carried to other countries by certificate, in time, or out of time, whereof conſideration ſhould be had in ſtating the balance between two kingdoms. It is to be wiſhed the like abſtract (which appears to me an authentick copy of what had been offered to the Houſe of Commons, but in what year I cannot find) could be obtained of the out-ports for the ſaid two years, but it is not come to me; however, the proportion which the out-ports generally bear to London being known, I ſhall be able to make from this abſtract ſeveral obſervations that may be uſeful, relating to the preſent

preſent poſture of our trade: from thence you will have the total value of all goods exported from the city of London, to the ſeveral kingdoms and countries, and the total value of all goods imported into the city of London for the two years aforeſaid; alſo the revenues of the cuſtoms in the ſeveral ports of England for one year, from Michaelmas 1676 to Michaelmas 1677, as to the quantities of goods contained in this account. I believe they may have been fairly extracted from the old entry-books of the Cuſtom-houſe, but, as to the valuation ſet upon the ſaid goods, I have much reaſon to ſuſpect the truth thereof, concerning which I ſhall make ſome obſervations in the proper places; but, ſuch as it is, I have thought it might be for the ſervice and ſatisfaction of this board to annex to this report a copy of the ſaid manuſcript; and, in regard I ſhall have a frequent occaſion to reſort to it, I ſhall premiſe, once for all, that the duty of cuſtoms for the port of London bear proportion to the duty of cuſtoms in the out-ports, as 1,268,095*l.* is to 346,081*l.* viz. about 3-4ths, according to which the imports and exports may be computed.

And being before this honourable board upon oath, and looking upon myſelf, by the nature of my office, bound to act impartially between the crown and the merchants, and obliged to uſe my utmoſt endeavours, as well to promote the general good of trade as the increaſe of her Majeſty's revenue, in what I have to ſay you ſhall find the utmoſt ſincerity, as far as my knowledge reaches; where I find the duties ſo high as to cramp trade and hurt the kingdom, I ſhall not fail to remark it to you in the ſeries of this report, and ſhall do the like where there ſeems a probability that the merchandize

merchandize will bear higher impoſitions, ſince nothing can more tend to increaſe our foreign and domeſtick trade, and, in reality, to advance the Queen's revenue, than that the burthen ſhould be ſo laid as at leaſt to be tolerable to the whole.

I ſhall proceed to ſhew upon what terms England ſtands in trade with the forementioned countries, all along taking notice, where it is needful, of the exports and imports of the years 1662 and 1668, and comparing them with the times from when my own accounts begin and are to end. And firſt, as to the trade

Between England and France.

Before the war,

		£.	*s.*	*d.*
from Mich. 1662, to Mich. 1663,	imports	647706	16	0
	exports	375065	6	0
imports exceed the exports		272641	10	0
from Mich. 1668, to Mich. 1669.	imports	541583	16	0
	exports	108699	4	0
imports exceed the exports		432884	12	0

Of this over-balance France had upon us, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further by and by, and, in the mean while, ſhall obſerve, that our two moſt valuable and national articles, in thoſe

two years, were lead and the woollen manfactures.

		£.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1662, to Mich. 1663. Exports	Lead, 21,757 foder, at 11 *l.* per foder	239327	0	0
	Woollen manufacture	96774	0	0
	Total of both	336101	0	0
From Mich. 1668, to Mich. 1669. Exports	Lead, 1328 foder, at 11 *l.* per foder	14608	0	0
	Woollen manufacture	68521	17	0
	Total of both	83129	17	0

Note, I can give no account how it came to paſs, that our exportations of lead were ſo large in the year 1662, unleſs (as I have been informed) there was an extraordinary call for it on account of the French King's buildings, and for a ſtore of bullets; and, in that caſe, there muſt have been a great old ſtock lying by in our kingdom, for the annual product of that metal will not come to the aforeſaid quantity, over and above our own conſumption.

	£.	s.	d.
Of the woollen manufactures, the value of the long, ſhort, and Spaniſh cloths, in the year, from 1662 to 1663, was —	22740	0	0
In the year, from 1668 to 1669	16602	0	0

The

The commodities moſt profitable to France, imported from thence hither, were linnens, French wines, brandies, wrought ſilk, ordinary paper, and kid-ſkins, whereof I ſhall give an account in the diſtinct articles.

		£.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1662 to Mich. 1663. Imports	Linnen — — — —	183442	1	0
	French wine, 7465 tun —	268740	0	0
	Wrought ſilk, 3684 pounds	30789	0	0
	Ordinary paper, 116,074 reams — — —	38691	0	0
	Brandy, 1059 tun — —	47655	0	0
	Kid-ſkins, 6592 hundred	21131	10	0
	Total	590448	11	0

		£.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1668 to Mich. 1669. Imports	Linnen — — — —	183890	19	0
	French wines, 5726 tun	206136	0	0
	Wrought ſilk, 6408 pounds	14418	0	0
	Ordinary paper, 52,131 reams — — —	50710	6	8
	Brandy, 333 tun — —	19985	0	0
	Kid-ſkins, 4817 hundred	15665	5	0
	Total	490805	10	8

I ſhall now proceed to ſhew how trade ſtood between England and France, from Michaelmas 1698, to Chriſtmas 1712, during all which time there was ſome ſort of intercourſe between the two kingdoms; and this account comprehends the out-ports as well as London.

A compariſon of the eſtimate of the imports and exports for the ſaid period of time, to and from France.

Imports in the following years and quarter.		Eſtimate £.	s.	d.	Exceſs £.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1698, to Chriſt. 1698		19904	3	0	551	18	5
from Chriſt. 1698	to Chriſt. 1699	76272	4	4 1/2			
from Chriſt. 1699	to Chriſt. 1700	94641	5	1 1/2			
from Chriſt. 1700	to Chriſt. 1701	123940	0	9			
from Chriſt. 1701	to Chriſt. 1702	76471	9	3	63633	7	2 1/4
	Total	391229	2	6 1/4	64185	5	7 1/4

Exports in the following years and quarter.		Eſtimate £.	s.	d.	Exceſs £.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1698, to Chriſt. 1698		19352	4	7			
from Chriſt. 1698	to Chriſt. 1699	103961	13	3 1/2	27689	8	11
from Chriſt. 1699	to Chriſt. 1700	287049	17	9 1/4	192408	12	7 1/2
from Chriſt. 1700	to Chriſt. 1701	213004	3	1 1/2	89064	2	4 1/2
from Chriſt. 1701	to Chriſt. 1702	12838	2	0 1/4			
	Total	636206	0	10	309162	3	11
	The imports exceed the exports				244976	18	3 1/4

The

The particulars of the importations and exportations to and from France, will be found in the account annexed: I ſhall take no notice of the broken quarter, but will begin from Chriſtmas 1698, to Chriſtmas 1702, viz.

Imports from Chriſt. 1698, to Chriſt. 1699.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen — — —	42828	0	1¼
Paper ordinary — —	3319	15	0
Wine — — —	5582	16	7
Brandy — — —	2733	1	4
Kid-ſkins — — —	42	0	0
Total	54505	13	0¼

Exports from Chriſt. 1698, to Chriſt. 1699.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture — — —	17269	0	0
Lead — — —	11154	14	9½
Total	28423	14	9½

Imports

A compariſon of the eſtimate of the imports and exports for the ſaid period of time, to and from France.

Imports in the following years and quarter.		Eſtimate £.	s.	d.	Exceſs £.	s.	d.	Exports in the following years and quarter.		Eſtimate £.	s.	d.	Exceſs £.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1698, to Chriſt. 1698		19904	3	0	551	18	5	From Mich. 1698, to Chriſt. 1698		19352	4	7			
from Chriſt. 1698	to Chriſt. 1699	76272	4	4½				from Chriſt. 1698	to Chriſt. 1699	103961	13	3½	27689	8	11
1699	1700	94641	5	1½				1699	1700	287049	17	9½	192408	12	7½
1700	1701	123940	0	9				1700	1701	213004	3	1½	89064	2	4½
1701	1702	76471	9	3	63633	7	2½	1701	1702	12838	2	0½			
	Total	391229	2	6½	64185	5	7½		Total	636206	0	10	309162	3	11
					The imports exceed the exports								244976	18	3½

The

The particulars of the importations and exportations to and from France, will be found in the account annexed: I ſhall take no notice of the broken quarter, but will begin from Chriſtmas 1698, to Chriſtmas 1702, viz.

Imports from Chriſt. 1698, to Chriſt. 1699.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen — — —	42828	0	1¼
Paper ordinary — —	3319	15	0
Wine — — —	5582	16	7
Brandy — — —	2733	1	4
Kid-ſkins — — —	42	0	0
Total	54505	13	0¼

Exports from Chriſt. 1698, to Chriſt. 1699.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture — — —	17269	0	0
Lead — — —	11154	14	9½
Total	28423	14	9½

Imports

Imports from Chriſt. 1699, to Chriſt. 1700.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen — — —	41451	14	11
Paper ordinary — —	2377	4	0
Wine — — —	17229	1	7½
Brandy — — —	6239	10	0¼
Kid-ſkins — — —	577	4	0
Total	67874	14	6¼

Exports from Chriſt. 1699, to Chriſt. 1700.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture — —	47151	5	11½
Lead — — —	22939	17	9
Total	70091	3	8½

Imports

Imports from Chriſt. 1700, to Chriſt. 1701.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen — — —	29597	17	5
Paper ordinary — —	1375	5	4½
Wine — — —	44098	12	8
Brandy — — —	6609	3	1¼
Kid-ſkins — — —	2545	14	0½
Total	84226	12	7¼

Exports from Chriſt. 1700, to Chriſt. 1701.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture — —	27774	7	11½
Lead — — —	24994	10	3
Total	52768	18	2½

Imports

Imports from Chriſt. 1701, to to Chriſt. 1702.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen — — —	7843	19	9½
Paper ordinary — —	512	5	4½
Wine — — —	34377	0	9½
Brandy — — —	4765	1	9½
Kid-ſkins — — —	398	5	0
Total	47896	12	9½

Exports from Chriſt. 1701, to Chriſt. 1702.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture — —	1580	6	9
Lead — — —	685	18	3
Total	2266	5	0

In

In the inſtance of France, as well as in other countries to which we deal, whereof I ſhall endeavour to ſtate the trade, it will be proper I ſhould give an account of the value of our exported cloth, viz.

Cloths { long / Spaniſh / ſhort } in a diſtinct article,

that this honourable board may ſee how that particular branch of our exportation riſes or falls.

				£.	s.	d.
From Chriſt. 1698 to Chriſt. 1699		1699	cloths to the value of	8634	15	0
From Chriſt. 1699 to Chriſt. 1700		1700	cloths to the value of	12057	2	6
From Chriſt. 1700 to Chriſt. 1701		1701	cloths to the value of	3136	1	10
From Chriſt. 1701 to Chriſt.		1702	cloths to the value of	182	10	0
			Total	24010	9	4

Firſt, From the foregoing accounts, this honourable board will obſerve, that before the war the dealings between the two kingdoms were very conſiderable to what they were during the four years of peace.

Secondly, That in 1662 and 1668, the balance between the exports and imports was very much on their ſide; that, in the four laſt years of our trade thither, we over-balanced them.

Thirdly, That the bulk of trade between both kingdoms conſiſted of but a few particulars.

Fourthly, That in the four years trade (ſuch as it was) England had what is commonly called an over-balance of 244,976*l.*

It

It has never been popular to lay down, that England was not a great loſer by the French trade; but, in enquiries of this kind, truth ſhould be more hunted after than popularity, and I ſhall endeavour to ſet this matter in as true a light as the nature of it will admit of, and which lies ſo obſcure for want of knowing right of matter of fact. As to the importations and exportations of commodities between the reſpective kingdoms, ſo far is beyond contradiction, that all the while England flouriſhed and grew rich by an extended traffick (which was by Queen Elizabeth's reign, down to the year 1640) that the two countries did not load one another with prohibitions of, or high duties upon, each other's product or manufactures, which that country would certainly have done that had found itſelf any conſiderable loſer by their mutual dealings, which muſt have been ſeen and felt in ſo long a tract of time; ſo that, during this ſpace, it is rather to be preſumed both kingdoms reciprocally found their account by the commerce that was between them. During the aforementioned period, the ſtrength and power of France was not become formidable, and the prodigious growth of the Houſe of Auſtria was what employed all our fears; but, as you know, about the year 1660, the face of affairs in Europe changed, the Spaniſh monarchy was declined, and France became the riſing empire.

And it roſe ſo faſt as to beget juſt apprehenſions to England for our future ſafety. In the mean while ſeveral good patriots, perceiving the court then fatally running into French intereſt and meaſures, and finding it would be difficult to engage the people (newly come out of a civil war) to follow and join with them in more national councils, by ſpeculations merely political, concerning the pro-

progreſs of the French arms and power, they thought the beſt courſe to awaken Engliſhmen was to alarm them about the danger they were in to loſe their trade, and, for this reaſon, nothing was ſo common as to cry, " that England was undone by the prodigious over-balance the French had upon us." To this purpoſe divers eſtimates were delivered to King Charles II. to the committees of Council, and to the Houſe of Commons, and ſometimes the court gave in to this matter. When great ſums of money were to be aſked in parliament to carry on a vigorous war againſt France, this over-balance was made uſe of maliciouſly, by ſome who had a mind to diſturb and defame the government.

Whatever over-balance France in particular might have upon us, between the imports from thence and our exports thither (and admit this over-balance to have continued a long time) it is evident, beyond all diſpute, that England was every year a gainer in its univerſal trade; whereof nothing can be a ſtronger proof than the Mint-accounts, bullion being the true ſuperlucration in foreign traffick, and plenty of bullion occaſioning a great coinage. And from the time it has been ſuggeſted we carried on ſuch a laſting and deſtructive trade with France, viz. from 1659 to the 21ſt of Dec. 1688, the Mint had full employment, ſince it appears from the Mint-rolls, that there was coined at this period of this time,

	£.	s.	d.
In gold --- ---	6274858	1	0
In ſilver --- ---	4203628	6	2
	10478486	7	2

If

If England has ſuffered ſuch a drain as the loſs of a million per ann. by its dealings with one ſingle country, there could not have been ſuch an immenſe coinage in thoſe years, nor could the bullion we received from Spain, returned as the over-balance we had in trade with the Spaniards, have anſwered and made good ſuch a conſtant iſſue; from whence follows, that this balance againſt us of a million yearly, which has been aſſerted in ſeveral books, and in memorials laid before the King and Council, and both Houſes of Parliament, muſt have been chimerical, for bye-ends advanced by ſome, and ignorantly followed by others. But in caſe of a general peace (whenever it ſhall happen) it is eaſy to be foreſeen this diſpute will always laſt. They who may deſire the continuation of the war, or whoſe dealings to other countries may lead them to obſtruct all ſorts of traffick with France, will affirm ſuch an over-balance: they who underſtand trade in general, and who know there can be no ſound peace between countries when there is not a fair commercial treaty, will deny it; from whence future animoſities and breaches may poſſibly ariſe. It is therefore humbly propoſed, that this honourable board will direct their precept to the commiſſioners of her Majeſty's cuſtoms, to lay before you the book of entries, as well for the out-ports as the port of London, from the year 1668 to 1688; from which books, in no long tract of time, and at no great expence, an extract of all the exports and imports between both kingdoms may be made, for as many of thoſe years as you in your wiſdom ſhall judge neceſſary.

From any authentick memorial I could ever ſee, relating to the loſs or gain by this traffick, it does not appear that they who argued either way went

went on foundations to be relied on. Conjectures and computations are commonly to be anſwered by other conjectures and computations perhaps as plauſible; but demonſtrations from matter of fact (ſuch as the propoſed extracts from the original entries muſt be) would put a final end to this diſpute, which, for near 30 years together, did occaſion long and warm debates in parliament.

A repreſentation to the late King, from the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations, bearing date Dec. 23, 1697, aſſerts, that the French over-balanced us in commerce about a million per ann. and they mention a computation of one year, where the exportations from thence hither are ſaid to amount to 1,136,150*l.* and our exportations thither but to 171,021*l.* It is likewiſe there laid down, that there were imported from thence

	£.
Silks to the value of — —	300000
Linnens to the value of — —	500700
Wine and brandies to the value of	217000
Total	1017700

But in the two years whereof I have an account, there are no ſuch large importations. They likewiſe ſay, that ann. 1685 there was 20,000 tun of wine and 6000 tun of brandy imported, and from ann. 1688 to ann. 1689, upwards of 20,000 tun of wine and about 6000 tun of brandy. As to the laſt year, the proſpect of an approaching long war might make our merchants very much enlarge their inveſtments from thence; as to the other inſtances, it does not appear how the facts are grounded, but moſt certain it is, that our exportations to France never amounted to near a million.

million. It is likewiſe to be doubted, that the computations delivered to the late King in 1697 were not right, and miſtaken either in the quantity or value of the goods, and that ancient errors and former prejudices were rather followed than truth conſulted, which would ſtill appear more manifeſtly, if the old books of entries were examined.

So far is eaſy to trace, that the accounts relating to the imports from France hither were not fairly ſtated, but rather calculated to pleaſe thoſe who did not like that trade, than to inveſtigate the truth; for I obſerve, in the valuation of wines and brandies in that account now laid before you, and might be extracted from accounts laid before King Charles II. and the parliament, about the year 1680, the wines are valued at 36*l.* per tun, and the brandies at 45*l.* per tun, according to which, in the balance between the exports and imports of both kingdoms, the amount of the wine and brandy came to

			£.
Anno 1668 to 1669	Wine	—	206136
	Brandy	—	19985
		Total	226121

In which account it is manifeſt that thoſe liquors are valued as the retailers ſold them by the quart in London, and including the prime coſt, commiſſion, freight, cuſtoms, merchants and retailers gain.

Whereas, in ſtating the balance between two countries, the prime coſt only in the reſpective countries ſhould be calculated.

Now it is notorious, that about that time the prime coſt of wine was about 8*l.* per tun, and of brandy

brandy about 9*l.* per tun, in which valuations I appeal to all the old experienced merchants who formerly dealt to France; and, according to this valuation, in ſtating the balance the amount will be

	£.
Wine — — — —	45808
Brandy — — — —	2977
Total	48785
Whereas the other computation is —	226121
Difference	177336

Mr. Culliford has indeed valued wines and brandies higher for the year 1698 to 1699, and ſo downwards, but that might proceed from ſcarcity of the commodity itſelf upon the ſpot, which rendered the prime coſt dearer, or other accidents; whereas peace, and a number of hands to cultivate the vineyards, will probably bring wines and brandies to their old price.

There is the ſame wrong valuation in the inſtance of ordinary paper, viz.

		£.
Ann. 1668 to 1669.	Paper imported, 152,131 reams, which is valued at 6*s.* 8*d.* per ream, and amounts to — —	50710
	Whereas, if paper were valued at the prime coſt, as it is in my books, the amount of ſuch a quantity would be but — —	26622
	Difference	24088

which having been a large importation, did alſo make a great difference in the balance.

In

In 1668 to 1669, I find likewiſe a higher value ſet upon the linnens than my books bear, and indeed upon moſt commodities of French growth or manufacture, as vinegar, rape, ſalt, rozin, prunes, turpentine, anniſeeds, &c. exceeding probability of truth, whether out of ignorance, or affectation of popularity, this honourable board will be the beſt judges, if they are pleaſed to call for the repreſentations concerning the French trade, which, from time to time, have been laid before the Houſe of Commons; whereas, in the value of our own exports, comparing my books with the computations of 1668, I find them pretty near one another, allowing for the difference of time between 1668 and 1711: therefore the French trade having been ſet in ſo falſe a light, it is no wonder that, for 40 years together, we have had ſuch notions of an over-balance upon us, which might reaſonably provoke the parliament ſo often to deſire a prohibition of all commodities of French growth and manufacture. By the proceedings between England and France, from 1660 to 1668, it looks as if both countries were jealous that each gained upon the other in their traffick, and ſo endeavoured each to ſecure itſelf, by charging the other's importations with high duties, ſome of them tantamount to prohibitions, wherein the French ſeem to have been the aggreſſors; which their wiſe ſtate would hardly have done, if they had been ſuch gainers in the balance as is pretended, ſince retaliation was certainly to follow ſome time or other. Before the year 1660, they had laid a duty of 50 ſols per ton upon Engliſh ſhipping; and the aforementioned report takes notice, the French King, ann. 1654, 1660, 1664, and 1667, had increaſed the duties on our woollen manufacture, our lead, tin, coals, tobacco, ſugar,

 fiſh,

fiſh, and other commodities, and reſtrained the importation of our woolien goods to his ports of Calais and Dieppe, and other commodities to ſome other inconvenient ports; and in 1686 he laid high impoſitions on all our Eaſt-India goods ſent thither, and reſtrained their importation to ſelect ports. We retaliated in 1660, by our act for encouraging and encreaſing ſhipping and navigation, which ſecures our trade not only from the encroachment of France, but of other countries; there we lay 5*s.* upon their tonnage till they take off the 50 ſols upon ours. In 1668 we laid a new impoſition upon their wines and brandies for two years: in 1670 new duties were laid upon their wines and vinegar for eight years: in 1667 an act paſſed to prohibit French wine, vinegar, brandy, linnen-cloths, ſilks, ſalt, paper, &c. for three years: in 1678 an additional duty was laid upon all wines; moſt of which duties were continued to 1688.

I ſhall not meddle with what has been done in both kingdoms ſince the year 1688, in regard it is freſh in your memories, and ſhall only take notice, that the duties are ſo high as to hinder a free trade (thoſe upon our woollen manufacture eſpecially) being in France at leaſt 50 per cent. which is worſe than a total prohibition.

England, without doubt, was wanting to its own intereſt in the ſeven or eight firſt years of King Charles the ſecond's reign, in not retaliating, time enough, with high duties laid upon their goods, the high impoſitions they had laid upon our woollen manufactures, and other of our product. If we had ſo proceeded, trade would have been upon an equal foot between us; and from the beſt view I have been able to make in a matter ſo intricate, and at ſuch a diſtance of time, I

am rather inclined to think the over-balance would have been on our ſide. But from whence this ſupine negligence took its riſe, I ſhall leave to your own conſiderations.

You ſee that in the year 1699 there is an appearance of an over-balance on the French ſide, and their imports hither exceeded our exports thither 432,884*l.* but whether this was all loſs to England, and a gain to France, is a great queſtion.

By a medium of three years, from 1699 to 1702 incluſive, the exports of England to Holland exceed the imports from thence hither 1,372,085*l.* per ann. and yet it cannot from thence be argued, that England got and Holland loſt all this money, for if ſo, at this inſtant (the like exceſs in traffick going on every year to this time) they would be exceeding poor by their trade with us, and we ſhould be grown very rich, which few take to be the caſe. But admit that heretofore we loſt by our trade with France as much as the moſt extravagant computations amount to, we ſhall have a fair opportunity, whenever a peace comes, to ſet this matter right, and to prevent ſuch a miſchief for the future, in regard the channel of trade throughout Europe has, this laſt 20 years, received ſuch conſiderable alterations.

This long war has brought ſeveral of the commodities that chiefly ſwell the French importations hither into diſuſe, or we are fallen into a track of taking goods ſerving to the ſame purpoſe from other countries, or we ourſelves have attained to a good manufacture of thoſe goods, of all which I ſhall give ſome particular inſtances.

1ſt,

1ſt, As to linnens, which heretofore has been reckoned ſo large an importation, and ſuch a weight againſt us in the general balance, as to our traffick with France, it is evident that in this commodity trade has taken another channel, viz.

From France into Germany.

	£.
For the linnen imported from France, ann. 1688 to 1699, amounted to	183896
And	
The linnens imported from Germany, ann. 1668 to 1669, amounted to	121682
Which importations of Germany linnens, from Chriſtmas 1699 to Chriſtmas 1702, at a medium of three years, amounted to per ann. —	519737

From ſeveral obſervations I have heretofore made, it appears to me that the Germans have, for ſome time, changed their fabrick of linnen, but eſpecially ſince the year 1688, the war then begun with France having put them upon making a commodity that might ſtand in the room of French linnens, which they have ſo much outed, that, whenever a peace comes, the French will hardly be able to retrieve it; but this will be more fully handled when the ſtate of the German trade ſhall be laid before you: beſides, we are come to a good manufacture of that commodity in Ireland, for by a medium of ſeven years, there was imported, from Chriſtmas 1699 to Chriſtmas 1705, 391,144 ells per ann. and the manufacture goes on ſince that time increaſing, ſo that there ſeems no great reaſon to apprehend that French linnens will be hurtful to us in the balance.

2dly, As to ordinary paper, the import thereof was indeed large in the year 1699, as has been ſhewn before, viz. to the value of 50,710*l.* But at home we are very much improved in that manufacture, and though we are not come up to the French perfection (and never can without a linnen manufacture of our own) yet what we make and bring from other parts ſerves our uſes, inſomuch that, during the four years interval of peace, the whole importations of French ordinary paper amounted to but 7584*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

3dly, As to kid-ſkins, another conſiderable importation in the aforeſaid year 1699, either we make uſe of ſome leather of our own, for womens gloves and other purpoſes, in the room of French kid-ſkins, or we bring them from other parts, as Holland, Germany, Ireland, Eaſt-Country, Italy, Spain, Scotland, the northern countries, &c. Thoſe imported from Holland were probably of French product, bought there, and imported here by the Dutch.

4thly, The ſilk manufacture is of late very much improved in England, ſo that, in caſe of a peace, ſuch quantities of French wrought ſilks, as heretofore, will not probably be imported.

			£.
In the years	1662	imported to the value of	30789
	1668		14418

	£.	s.
Whereas, in the four years and quarter interval of peace, there was imported to the value of — —	723	13

But what of this rich and profitable commodity might be run during that time, comes not within my knowledge.

5thly.

5thly, As to wines and brandies, in caſe of a peace, this luxurious conſumption, in all likelyhood, will lie the heavieſt upon the Engliſh in their dealings with the French, the uſe and expence of them having gradually increaſed almoſt every year, from 1660 downwards. To open this matter, it will be neceſſary for me to ſhew the importations into this kingdom, of wines and brandies (Rheniſh excepted) from ſeveral periods of time, and from ſeveral countries.

Imports { Wines / Brandies } anno 1668 to 1669.

From France.	Italy.	Spain.	Portugal.
5726 tun	Nil	6343 tun	Nil
333 tun	Nil	Nil.	Nil

From which account it appears, the general conſumption of wines and brandies (Rheniſh excepted) in England, in that year, was

Wines	——	12069	tuns.
Brandy	——	333	

For the ſubſequent years, to the year 1668, as I have obſerved before, mention is made of much larger quantities imported, eſpecially French wine and brandy, but of this I have no account; however, it is obvious the great uſe of thoſe liquors came in ſoon after the Reſtoration, increaſing every year, and if, in 1669, there were imported any Portugal or Italian wines, it was only as preſents from abroad, and it does not appear that it was entered in the Cuſtom-houſe books.

After the war, the trade in wine, as well as divers other commodities, took a different channel.

Imports { Wines / Brandies } from 1699 to 1702, by a medium for three years.

From France	Italy.	Spain and Canaries.	Portugal.
1245 tun	1508 tun	9309 tun	6897 tun
118 tun	7 tun	62½ tun	20 tun

From whence appears the general conſumption of wines (Rheniſh excepted) in England, by a medium of three years, per ann. was

Wine	18915	tuns.
Brandy	277½	

This honourable board will here take notice that though little wines have been imported from France ſince the beginning of the firſt war, we have been ſupplied with the commodity from other places, and that our conſumption thereof is increaſed, from 1669 to 1702, 6848 tun per ann. Since the breaking out of the firſt war, little brandies have been imported, in the room of which are come home made ſpirits, drawn from cyder, melaſſes, wheat, and malt, to which the common people being now accuſtomed, the call for French brandies will probably be leſs hereafter than it was in former times.

Before I cloſe the article of wine, it may not be amiſs here to take notice of the Rheniſh wines. From my manuſcript it appears, that formerly we did not receive this commodity directly from the Germans, but by the way of Holland, for under the head of Germany I find no Rheniſh wines entered, but under the head of Holland.

In

In the years { 1662 to 1663 and 1668 to 1669 } Rhen. wines imported { 924 / 735 } tuns.

And from the years 1699 to 1702, I find, by a medium of the ſaid three years, from Holland and Germany, Rheniſh wine imported per ann. 736½ tuns.

From whence it appears, that the prohibition of French wines has not increaſed the conſumption of Rheniſh wine, as, to the beſt of my remembrance, was expected at that time.

In the years 1662 to 1668, ſeveral commodities were carried from hence to France, from the out-ports only, as in particular fiſh, viz. cod, herrings red, herrings white, and pilchards; theſe, with ſeveral other goods from the out-ports (if an account of them could be procured) might perhaps bring the balance to be much leſs againſt England than has been commonly ſuggeſted. During the three firſt years interval of peace, fiſh exported to France, in proportion to the other traffick we had then with that kingdom, was no contemptible article, the value whereof follows:

				£.	s.	d.
From Chriſt.	1698	to Chriſt.	1699 ---	5062	6	9
	1699		1700 ---	7393	11	6½
	1700		1701 ---	2279	7	4

From what has been already opened to this honourable board, it ſufficiently appears what difficulty there will be to compute any ſort of balance between England and France, unleſs we had the entries of the reſpective goods between the intermediate years, from 1669 to 1689; but ſo far may be taken for granted, that all along the

French importations increaſed upon us, and our exportations thither diminiſhed, by reaſon of the high duties laid upon them in France, which we did not take early care (as I have obſerved before) to retaliate with the like impoſitions upon their product and manufactures, in order to put the trade upon a more equal foot between both kingdoms, but to what degree, during thoſe 19 years, they had an over-balance upon us, does not appear; and if, in the computations from time to time laid before the publick, the Engliſh goods exported were valued at the prime coſt here, and the French goods imported were valued as they were ſold in London, with cuſtoms, freight, &c. upon them (which, from what I have ſeen, and by the beſt information I can get, appears to have been the caſe) there would be no conſiderable difference in the value between the merchandize we carried thither and what we brought from thence.

But here will ariſe a queſtion, how far the exceſs between the exports and imports may be deemed a certain rule, whereby to judge whether a country gets or loſes by its trade; for if it were, in the years 1662 and 1668, England did not only loſe by its trade with France, but was over-balanced in its univerſal dealings with all the reſt of the commercial world, as the following abſtract from my old account plainly ſhews:

			£.	s.
Ann. 1662 to 1663	Imports	---	4016019	18
	Exports	---	2022812	4
The exports exceed the imports			1993207	14
Ann. 1668 to 1669	Imports	---	4196139	17
	Exports	---	2063274	19
The imports exceed the exports			2132864	18

Here

Here you may pleaſe to obſerve, what an appearance there is of an exceſs againſt us all the world over thoſe two years, in which no man in his right ſenſes will deny, but that we carried on a thriving traffick. On the other hand, this honourable board will ſee, upon peruſing the annexed account, viz. an abſtract of the compariſon of five diſtinct years of exports and imports from England to all foreign countries, or of what we re-exported from our plantations, and of our Eaſt-India goods; and I believe it has been the ſame, from 1688 to the time the books of my office began, and continues to the preſent year, that our exports exceeded the imports to a very high degree; however, it can hardly be affirmed, and the merchants upon the Exchange will ſcarce agree, that, during this time, England has carried on a profitable trade, at leaſt there appears no overbalance returned to us in bullion, to ſet the Mint at work; contrarywiſe, our ſpecies of gold and ſilver, ſince that time, is by degrees viſibly diminiſhed, which is one certain ſign that a nation carries on a loſing commerce; but the untying this knot, and ſolving this riddle, upon which the forming a right judgment concerning the preſent poſture of our trade ſo much depends, will more properly be done when I come to treat upon the head of the balance between us, and Germany and Holland, to which parts our exportations ſeem ſo very large.

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN,

BEING directed by your precept to give the exports and imports between England and other countries, with my obſervations how the balance of trade ſtood, and having ſtated ſeveral matters of fact on the head of our trade with France, I ſhall humbly proceed to offer what has occurred to me upon this ſubject.

1ſt, That it is utterly impoſſible exactly to ſtate the balance between our country and another, all trafficks having a mutual dependance one upon the other; and if a nation gains by the general bulk of its whole trade, which may be ſeen in a great variety of inſtances, that nation is no more to regard how the exports and imports ſtand between them and other countries, than hereby to watch what impoſts their neighbours lay upon what is imported to them, and proportionably to lay freſh impoſitions upon what they receive from that country, more eſpecially if they are uſed with notorious hardſhip by their neighbours.

2dly, That though ſometimes there may ſeem to have been a great over-balance between us and France, yet it can by no means be affirmed that this was all loſs to England, ſince, from this over-balance muſt be deducted what we ſhould have brought from other countries for our neceſſary conſumption, as wine, linnen, ſilks, and divers other goods, ſome whereof might come to us from France at eaſier rates than perhaps we could have had them from other parts; and unleſs reaſons of ſtate intervene, the body of a trading nation, collectively conſidered, is to look out where foreign goods are to be had at the loweſt prime coſt, which

which is not only national gain, but profitable to the merchant.

3dly, That in laying ſuch duties and prohibitions, it is to be well weighed, whether your own people will really bar themſelves ſeveral luxurious conſumptions, for, if not, you will deal to great diſadvantage; as for inſtance, if you prohibit French wines, and yet will have them, it muſt come from a third hand; to that third hand you are forced to ſell your native product at a cheap rate, and to pay them dear for what they import from foreign parts, ſo that both ways the third hand gains, and you loſe, and they are highly paid for the carriage.

4thly, That high duties and impoſitions not only break ſome of the links in the chain of trade, but they generally end in a war between thoſe nations where they are made uſe of frequently, and with great marks of anger.

5thly, That the beſt courſe of putting a ſtop to loſing trades are ſumptuary laws and good examples from the court, which may effectually diſcourage foreign faſhions and the uſe of foreign apparel: this does the work without giving offence to your neighbours by prohibitions, which beget ſuch animoſities between countries (one ſtill outvying the other) when injuries of this kind are begun, that at laſt a third people, as Mr. Mun remarks in his book of trade, runs away with thoſe trafficks by which both were formerly gainers: that, generally ſpeaking, there is nothing more needful, to know whether a nation gets or loſes by their commerce, than to contemplate whether their luxuries increaſe or diminiſh, or are at a ſtand; but when faſhions are minded at courts, and toys bear ſtaple rate, then does a country loſe, not get, by the balance of trade.

6thly,

6thly, That a country whoſe wealth and ſtrength very much depends upon dealings extended to all the known world, ſhould, if poſſible, avoid loſing its traffick with any conſiderable country. England may be looked upon as a general merchant, who ſhould be ſtored with commodities to invite and pleaſe all ſorts of dealers, and we ſhould have a variety of goods to ſort our cargoes, which cannot be had while there is ſuch a gap as a total intermiſſion of commerce with a country abounding in ſo many products, natural and artificial, as France has always been; and if we did not conſume among ourſelves all the effects heretofore brought from thence, but ſent part of them abroad, to carry on our trade with other nations, we might not be loſers in the balance, though the imports from thence might exceed the exports thither; that ſuch an exceſs between the exports and imports as has been on our ſide for ſeveral years in our trade with Holland, is not always profitable to a country, and only ſhews that a ſingle nation draws from us thoſe commodities which we uſed to export to ſeveral countries with more advantage; and it muſt undoubtedly be better for Engliſh merchants to do their own buſineſs, than to have it done by others.

7thly, That if all trades were not ſo linked together in their nation as they are, we might ſafely prohibit or put a clog upon the traffick of that country, where we think ourſelves the loſers, but it is to be doubted whether this can be done without diſturbing other parts of our general commerce; and I have heard men of great judgment and experience in theſe matters affirm, that without our dealings with France, the French could not have dealt with Spain and Italy, and without the commerce that was between France,

Spain

Spain and Italy, our traffick with the Spaniards and Italians had not been ſo large and profitable as it was in thoſe days.

8thly, That our trade would be but upon a narrow bottom, if we confined ourſelves to the meer barter of our own product, for ſuch product of other countries as our own conſumption requires; but our foreign dealings have been, and it is to be hoped hereafter will be, upon a better foot; and we are conſtantly to aim at a ſuperlucration of wealth, in times of peace, that may ſupport us in times of war. We are farther to conſider, that beſides the goods of our native growth, we have a vaſt product from our plantations, and a great variety of commodities from the Eaſt-Indies, to be re-exported to other countries, which exhauſting our bullion, will be detrimental to us, unleſs ſold abroad; for which reaſon we are to court as many foreign markets as poſſibly we can, to put no bar to the trade with any country, and to be well ſatisfied, if, upon the whole, our own product and re-exported goods find a ſufficient vent.

9thly, That, generally ſpeaking, the trades of thoſe countries are more gainful, to which we carry more commodities of ours than we import of theirs from thence, but this rule does not always hold; as for example, In the Italian trade, the exceſs is of their ſide, and yet it is generally agreed we are gainers by that traffick, and the over-plus is returned to us in bullion or bills of exchange. In the Spaniſh trade, the exceſs between the exports and imports was ſometimes on theirs and ſometimes on our ſide, and yet, upon the whole, we were ever gainers, and it is from thence our vaſt quantities of bullion were formerly derived. In the Portugal trade, the exceſs between the

the imports and exports was always of our ſide, but more eſpecially ſince we have had no dealings with Spain, inſomuch that we almoſt drained them of their ſilver coin, and begin to break into their modydas of gold; and when I come to lay before you the Spaniſh, Italian, and Portugal trades, you will ſee that, ſince the breach with Spain, our Portugal trade alone very much exceeded the dealings we had before the laſt war with Italy, Spain and Portugal all together, and the overbalance was returned to us in bullion, or bills of exchange upon Italy and other places; nor are we always gainers in the balance, where the exceſs between the exports and imports is conſtantly on our ſide, with a very large overplus, as in the inſtance of Holland, which will be farther explained when you have an account of that trade.

The premiſes conſidered, it is humbly ſubmitted to the judgment of this honourable board, how far England, from 1660 to 1688, might be loſers by the trade with France; Great-Britain, at that time, had no marks upon it of a nation declining in wealth and commerce; the intereſt of money was low, the ſpecies of gold and ſilver abounded, the middle rank of men had a large proportion of plate among them; after a general conflagration, the city was rebuilt in a few years, magnificent publick edifices were erected, the farm-houſes every where were in good repair; the tonnage of mercantile ſhipping infinitely exceeded what we have at preſent, the cuſtoms, with the low duties then lying upon the merchant, produced in one year, as appears by the annexed account, from Michaelmas 1676 to Michaelmas 1677,

£.	s.	d.
828,200	17	4

All

All which I humbly conceive to have been the effects of a proſperous and extended trade, from whence we had accumulated ſuch a maſs of riches as has enabled us to carry on this long and expenſive war, with no ſigns viſible to the reſt of Europe of our being yet reduced in ſtrength and power.

I ſhall not ſo far oppoſe old and received opinions, however ſlightly grounded, as not to grant, that from the time the French laid ſuch high duties on our woollen manufactures, as in the years 1660, 1664, and 1667, reſtraining their importation to two ports, and from ann. 1686, when they began to lay high impoſitions upon, and other ways to cramp our Eaſt-India exports thither, we might begin to ſuffer in our dealings with France, though, for divers reaſons founded in matters of fact, I muſt totally differ in the quantum with the computers of thoſe days, ſome of which, and among the principal leaders (as I have been well informed) whilſt they were exclaiming againſt this over-balance in 1677, took care to lay in vaſt ſtocks of French brandy, by which they made no ſmall advantage to themſelves, whatever England was to get by the intended prohibition.

It has always been the opinion of thoſe who are well verſed in the nature of trade, that a wiſe ſtate ſhould never enter into prohibitions, but upon the utmoſt neceſſity, and upon the matureſt deliberation; for the moſt ſagacious man cannot, in the beginning, forejudge all the ill effects ſuch a way of proceeding may afterwards produce, how far it may break or interrupt dealings with other countries, or what branches of profit it may utterly loſe and drive quite into another channel, where, in times to come, ſuch branches may always ſettle.

The French began to make this breach in good neighbourhood, and dealt with us, as if they thought the genius of France had got a perfect maſtery over the genius of England, otherwiſe they would not have ſo impoſed upon us in matters of this nature, where, though our court would not ſee, the people muſt needs feel, and where the legiſlature was certain to be alarmed, and at laſt to interpoſe.

As the duties now ſtand upon the reſpective product and manufacture of both kingdoms, there can be no free trade between them, without which there can be no ſound and compleat peace; ſo that, whenever the war determines, their mutual intereſt will incline them to liſten to terms of a fair commercial treaty, ſuch as ought to be between countries who have no intentions to enter into a new war.

This conſideration has led me, in obedience to your precept, to open to you (as far as all the light I am able to procure will guide me) how the trade ſtood between us and France heretofore, from whence your own wiſdom will collect how it is like to ſtand hereafter. I have ſhewn that, as to their chief natural product, wine, we are fallen to deal with Spain, Portugal and Italy, for that commodity, which ſerves the middle rank of men (who muſt always be reckoned the great conſumptioners) as well as French wine; and as to brandies, that our own home-made ſpirits are come into their place. It has likewiſe been obſerved to you in their manufacture, that, as to linnen, we have it from Ireland and Germany, where the traffick for that commodity ſeems to be in a ſettled channel.

Laſtly, That we ourſelves are improved in the making of ſilk and paper, ſo that, whenever a

peace comes, though the trade between both kingdoms ſhould be as free and open as ever it was, there will not be the ſame want of, or call for, French importations as formerly; all which muſt needs be as well known to the councils of France as upon the Exchange of London, for which reaſons we may juſtly inſiſt on ſuch a treaty of commerce as may put us, for at leaſt an age, out of all fears to be over-balanced.

As the war has altered the channel of trade in moſt countries, ſo the ſuperiority the Queen's arms have had in this ſharp diſpute has placed her Majeſty in a higher and more glorious condition of treating with other countries than her predeceſſors have lately been; and as her power governs the peace, ſo it will be able to dictate the articles and terms on which it is to be founded, eſpecially when ſhe is to treat with a country that at leaſt ſtands full as much in need of our goods, as we do of theirs: our importations from thence have chiefly been of matters ſerving to luxury, and which may be had from other places, whereas our exports thither have generally been of uſeful commodities, and not to be had at ſuch eaſy rates from any other country, as lead, tin, and the woollen manufactures, ſo that, if both kingdoms can agree upon juſt and equal duties to be laid on their reſpective commodities, a free trade with France can never be dangerous to England, and as to an over-balance, that nation will have it who has the moſt convenient ports, whoſe people are moſt induſtrious and beſt ſkilled in the affairs of traffick, and who moſt abound in natural or artificial products, neceſſary to the common uſes or ornament of life.

It may be laid down as a fundamental, that there can never be an open trade between us and France, unleſs the duties are leſſened on both ſides; but the additional impoſitions here being appropriated as funds for ſeveral loans, how far abatements in thoſe high duties can be made, with due regard to preſerving credit, muſt be determined by the wiſdom of parliament; but ſo far may be ſafely advanced, that, in times of peace, the more the merchant is eaſed, the larger our importations will be; the cuſtoms will riſe better, and the lenders upon the fund will have a more ample ſecurity, which will be obvious to thoſe who conſider what a ſmall ſum the high impoſitions upon trade have produced to the publick, and that this revenue, which, in proportion to the taxes laid upon it from time to time, ſhould have raiſed four millions per ann. produced, by a medium of three years, viz.

	£.
From Chriſt. 1708 to Chriſt. 1710, incluſive, nett into the Exchequer	1615033
Whereas the tonnage and poundage, including ſome farms, the new impoſitions upon wine, vinegar, the duty on tobacco and ſugar, the duty on French linnen, brandy and ſilk, produced, for the year ending the 29th of Sept. 1688, nett into the Exchequer —— ——	1015472
Difference	599561

So

So that theſe variety of additional cuſtoms, which have brought ſuch a miſerable load upon trade, come actually no more in aid to the publick, and towards the diſcharge of loans, than the laſt-mentioned ſum; and this low produce from ſuch high duties is a ſign but too viſible how much our foreign traffick is diminiſhed. It is true, we have been ſupported all along by the large exports we have made of our native product, and our plantation and Eaſt-India goods; but what will there be for our product and manufactures in times of peace, when other countries can cultivate their own lands, and ſet their own people to work, is a great queſtion. Therefore, to repair the breaches this long war has made upon the kingdom, our buſineſs muſt be to enlarge and encourage foreign trade, and to get wealth by the ſame method our anceſtors attained to it, which was to deal with all countries that would ſell us their goods and take off our commodities; which has been the courſe whereby our neighbours the Dutch are come to make ſuch a figure in the commercial world, who will be always ready to take up any part of foreign traffick we are ſo imprudent to abandon,

No imagination can be vainer than to think that trade is to be ruled and circumſcribed by art; it muſt be ſuffered to take its own natural courſe, and not be interrupted by prohibitions, or high duties equal to prohibitions, unleſs upon provocation from other countries. They who think to promote the conſumption of their own native product, by an univerſal diſcouragement of foreign goods, will find themſelves, in proceſs of time, to have little or no trade, and that their own commodities ſhall remain a drug upon their hands.

A large exportation of our own product, ſuch as we have had for theſe laſt 23 years, is certainly very good for England; and if we had not had it, we could not have paid our troops abroad, without drawing away all the ſpecies of gold and ſilver: but the neceſſity of the call for our goods may ceaſe or leſſen, and, in ſuch a caſe, the nations who receive our commodities will expect we ſhould take off a due proportion of theirs, which exceſſive duties render impracticable. If we expect to have large dealings in the world, we muſt treat others no worſe than they treat us; we muſt buy as well as ſell, and not flatter ourſelves with the hopes of ſubſiſting merely by the exportations of our own growth and manufacture.

If the duties upon the reſpective commodities of both kingdoms could be laid with ſuch a due proportion, as neither may have any apparent advantage over the other, which is the moſt either ſide can in juſtice and reaſon expect, the number, ſafety, and commodious ſituation of the ports in her Majeſty's dominions, together with the goodneſs and utility of our native product, will at all times render us ſuperior in an open trade with France.

It is obvious enough what muſt be the true intereſt of both countries; England will deſire that our woollen manufactures and Eaſt-India goods may not be reſtrained, by old or new edicts, to inconvenient ports, and that a reaſonable part of the high duties laid on thoſe goods may be taken off: France will likewiſe propoſe to be eaſed in the high impoſitions laid upon their wines and brandies, linnens and paper; and both ſides, if they intend to have an intercourſe of trade, will wiſh to ſee the tariffe reduced to the terms of that time,

time, when both kingdoms traded together upon a more equal foot, which might be about the years 1664 and 1667.

Whatever matters of luxurious vanity we heretofore brought from thence, or ſhould we plunge ourſelves into all the exceſſive follies of our fathers, this will be ſufficiently over-balanced, if we can have a free vent for our Eaſt-India goods in France; for I have heard experienced merchants affirm, that ſix of them, for ſeveral years, exported thither to the value of 300,000*l.* per ann. in Eaſt-India commodities; and, all Europe over, muſlin is come into the room of lace; likewiſe, no large bulk of our fine draperies, when a free uſe of them is allowed in France, will pay the prime coſt of ſuch wines and brandies as we may want from thence.

When trade ſhall be put upon this equality of duties, it will ſoon be viſible where the overbalance of profit lies. It may be well remembered what vaſt quantities of gold came over hither from France during the four years interval of peace: experienced merchants will alſo tell you, that, notwithſtanding the ſevere edicts againſt it, large ſums of gold were brought from thence to England in ſpecie, in the times of King Charles and King James the ſecond, which might be one of the occaſions that 6,200,000*l.* in guineas were coined in thoſe two reigns; whereas, if we had been ſuch loſers in the balance, our ſpecies of gold and ſilver muſt have been ſent thither, whereof nothing appears.

It is further to be conſidered, that the woollen manufacture is not ſo inſeparably annexed to the Engliſh ſoil, but other countries may attempt it, peradventure with ſucceſs. Looms have been

elſewhere ſet up, whatever interruptions they may have met with from a long war that has entertained ſo many hands, but when thoſe hands are diſarmed, they muſt be employed in the works and arts of peace: therefore, to promote in foreign markets the vent of this commodity, upon which the people of England ſo much depend, we may ſafely recede from ſome points of advantage in trade of importance to us.

If our circumſtances can permit us to meet ſuch of our neighbours as are willing to concur in meaſures to eaſe one another in the high duties that are ſo great a weight upon our mutual dealings, this dangerous rivalſhip may perhaps ceaſe, and they may no longer think it their intereſt to ſet up a manufacture not ſo natural to them as to us, and wherein, let others do their utmoſt, we ſhall always excel the reſt of Europe.

To preſerve, for future ages, the balance of trade on our ſide, where it is generally fixed ever ſince we began to look abroad, no better expedients occur to my obſervation, than,

1ſt, Never to erect the chief of our ſtrength, nor to employ the bulk of our expences hereafter, in land-armies to be paid abroad; for though conſtant ſucceſſes ſhould attend us, and though all the while our native product ſhould find a ſufficient vent in foreign markets (which has been our caſe more eſpecially for theſe nine years laſt paſt) yet the maintaining and paying our troops in ſuch a war, muſt interrupt all the profits to be expected from trade, and give the reſult of our hazards and induſtry to that country in or near whoſe dominions the war is managed, and leave us, at the foot of the account, loſers in what is called the balance.

2dly,

2dly, To avoid prohibitions, where neceſſity does not compel us to retaliate for the like uſage.

3dly, Moderate duties, ſuch as may not diſcourage other countries from dealing with us, and encourage our own people to place their effects in trade where their wealth beſt operates to the publick good.

4thly, To enlarge our foreign buſineſs as much as poſſible, whereunto we are the better enabled by the immenſe ſums now riſing in bills, ſtocks and tallies, which, by the eaſineſs of their transfer, will very probably be found in practice to ſerve all the uſes of trade, as well as the ſpecies of money, eſpecially when a firm peace ſhall have placed thoſe credits upon a ſurer foundation than they ſtand at preſent.

Importation of bullion, as has been remarked before, is one of the principal ſigns that a country drives a gainful traffick: on the contrary, whether it be for the uſes of trade, or for the payment of troops, if we annually export more bullion than from any view can be thought to come to us from abroad, we muſt be loſers in the general balance; and in this caſe, neceſſity by degrees muſt have carried off our coin, either in ſpecie or melted down.

Till the year 1695 there was no account kept (at leaſt that ever I could meet with) of the foreign gold and bullion exported, ſince which time, viz. May 1, 1695, and in 14 years 8 months (as may be ſeen in the annexed paper) there was exported of foreign gold coin and bullion, and foreign ſilver coin and bullion, to the value of

£.	*s.*	*d.*
6,542,904	15	2½

Add to this, the coin in gold and ſilver carried away by the officers and others for their expences, from the beginning of the war downwards, amounting in the whole to a very conſiderable ſum; beſides, moſt of the ſhipping was before the regiſter, and whatever the nine millions of hammered money in tale wanted of weight, was clipt away, melted down, and exported; and allowing theſe nine millions to have been diminiſhed but a third in weight by the clippers (a moderate computation) we muſt have loſt this way three millions; ſo that, from 1688 to this time, our exportation of bullion muſt have been every year, in a large proportion, greater than our importation thereof could poſſibly be, eſpecially when we reflect what a long interruption there has been in the commerce with Spain, from whence moſt of our ſilver was derived.

Some that may have an intereſt to deſire the continuation of the war (I mean the principal dealers in ſtocks and tallies) who have been the only real gainers by it, will pretend that it has not in the leaſt degree damaged England; but the landed men will find and feel hereafter, more than perhaps at preſent, the falſhood of this aſſertion: they ground their opinion upon the large exportation of our product, goods and manufactures, which we have had for many years. This vent abroad has indeed been our ſupport, and without it we muſt have been impoveriſhed beyond retrieve; but our income from thence has not ſo anſwered our expence, as to leave us in near that condition of wealth wherein we flouriſhed before the war; which point ſhall be more fully handled when I come to ſpeak of the trade between England and Holland.

Some of theſe matters ſhould be paſſed over in ſilence by me, if they could be judged ſecrets of empire, and not to be touched upon, but the nature of our funds is ſuch, as expoſes the poſture of our affairs to all who will give themſelves the leaſt trouble of looking into our debts at home, and expences abroad: beſides, I conceive myſelf bound, by the oath I am to take at the diſcovery of this report, to conceal no obſervation that may have occurred to me, relating to the balance of trade which your precept requires me to lay before you.

In ſuch an extended traffick as we formerly carried on, it is difficult to determine where we loſt (all trades being ſo interwoven with one another) though it may be eaſy to point out where we chiefly gained; but it may be ſafely pronounced, that a country, whoſe dealings are univerſal, will have profit from the whole, which profit will be viſible in the increaſe of coin and bullion.

We owe the original of our riches and naval power to the generous and enterprizing ſpirit of our fore-fathers, who compaſſed all the globe to make diſcoveries and obtain ſettlements in the new world, which the Spaniſh monarchy hoped wholly to engroſs. We were not then diſcouraged by ſhipwrecks, diſappointments and loſs of cargoes: when an enterprize failed, others were ready to undertake it, and this great and national ſtock was generally carried on at the expences, and by the publick zeal of private men, till we came to have a conſiderable ſhare with the Spaniards in America, where doubtleſs we had enlarged our dominions after the death of King James the firſt, but for the troubles with which the beginning of

King

King Charles the firſt's reign was attended, and but for the civil wars that not long after ſucceeded, and which ſo many years employed our thoughts and forces.

But now, when there is ſo fair a proſpect of a laſting peace, and when the terms of that peace will probably give England ſome recompence for the expenſive war this kingdom has carried on to preſerve the liberties of Europe, it is to be hoped we have an opportunity of procuring to ourſelves a new branch of trade that will make us amends for what we may have ſuffered by our ſteady affection to the common cauſe.

I ſhall not expatiate upon this ſubject till I come to lay before you an account of our plantations, to which head more properly belongs what may be ſaid in relation to the advantages we may promiſe to ourſelves from the South-Sea trade; and at preſent I ſhall only crave leave to offer, that there are ſeveral parts of America ſcarce in the poſſeſſion of, or at leaſt hitherto unconquered by the Spaniards, where, if we can obtain ſafe and convenient ſettlement, we ſhall have ſuch opportunities of vending our native product and manufactures, and of bringing from thence goods for our own and the uſe of other countries, as may, in proceſs of time, ſo increaſe the general bulk of our trade, as apparently to give us that overbalance ſo much ſought after, and which is only to be had by dealings every where extended.

The South-Sea Company have a ſtock capable to embrace and bring to a happy concluſion any large undertaking. It is well known, gold and ſilver are not wholly confined to the parts now poſſeſſed by Spain, and if freſh mines could be diſcovered and opened, it could never prejudice

the Spaniards; for the wants and avarice of the world increaſe ſo faſt, that theſe metals are never like to become a drug by their plenty, as other commodities are wont to do.

But ſuppoſing the Indians are determined to conceal their mines from us, as they have done from the Spaniards, yet there are provinces in America lying now uncultivated, ſo rich and fertile, that plantations may be there made with more advantage to their mother kingdom than any yet in our poſſeſſion; and if we can be once well fixed there, with colonies able to defend themſelves, it is impoſſible but that, between the Spaniards and Indians (both deſirous of and wanting our commodities) we muſt make ſuch a ſuperlucration as will help to reſtore to the veins of the body politick, that life-blood which for many years has been ſo careleſsly exhauſted.

But to bring to perfection ſo great a work as the ſettlements of a new traffick, we muſt imitate the perſeverance of our anceſtors, and patiently wait the benefits of time, and not (like our neighbours the French) grow weary of, and throw aſide the thoughts of any dealings wherein the returns are not immediate: we are rather, in this point, to follow the example of the Dutch, who, in their Eaſt-India management, never ſo much conſult the preſent as future advantages.

The South-Sea Company, as their ſtock is, or probably will be much the largeſt, ſo they ſeem to be upon a more laſting foundation than the other ſocieties, in regard they are to continue till their mighty capital can be repaid; for which reaſon they are more bound to conſult the good of poſterity than others who have not the ſame proſpect of duration. From the beginning, the Eaſt-India Company

Company had doubtleſs turned their trade to more national profit, if, from time to time, their terms in it had been longer; they would have better fortified their ſettlements, and in thoſe wide dominions they had opportunities to enlarge their dealings, ſo as to have vended all the while greater quantities of our native product, and to have exported leſs bullion, which would have made that trade not ſo invidious as it has ever been.

It is to be hoped the South-Sea Company will take warning by their errors, and endeavour to render their traffick as national as they can poſſibly contrive to make it. To become the darlings of the people, they muſt make large exportations of our native product, and conſiderable importations of bullion, to ſupply what of neceſſity will be carried off every year by the Eaſt-Land and Eaſt-India trades.

A nation which is obſerved to enlarge its foreign buſineſs, to proceed in it with courage governed by conduct, to have a transferable ſtock, as England now has, of about 50 millions in the funds, which may be employed in the uſes of trade, to have ſuch a valuable product of their own, and ſuch variety of goods the growth of their plantations, and other countries to re-export where profit can be found, muſt carry the market throughout the world, if they will exert their ſtrength and riches, as far as people ought to do who intend to preſerve themſelves.

War is commonly the time for private men to make their fortunes out of the publick; peace ſhould be the proper time for the publick to get by the induſtry of private men, to which induſtry the ſtate ſhould give all reaſonable encouragement and help, and render trade as little burthenſome

to

to the merchant as the circumſtance of affairs will admit of.

If this courſe be taken, we ſhall have the overbalance of trade, not only with France, but moſt of our other neighbours: we ſhall make proviſion for another year, which is not impoſſible, let a peace be never ſo well ſettled for the preſent; and we ſhall lay the foundation for ſuch a ſort of treaſure as may not be liable to the variety of accidents to which paper-credit will ever be obnoxious.

All which is humbly ſubmitted to this honourable board, by

A SECOND

REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS

For putting in Execution the Act, intituled

An Act for the taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom.

From CHARLES DAVENANT, L. L. D.
Inſpector-General of the Exports and Imports of the Trade between England and Holland.

PART II.

A SECOND REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE The COMMISSIONERS, &c.

PART II.

IN what ſhall be ſaid upon this ſubject, the ſame method, in a great meaſure, ſhall be followed, as was obſerved in treating of the trade between France and England: from the old manuſcript remaining in the Cuſtom-houſe there ſhall be laid before this honourable board an account of the imports and exports, with the exceſs, for the years 1663 and 1669, which, as occaſion offers, ſhall be compared with the imports and exports of the years, from 1699 to 1704, with this caution, that the manuſcript from whence theſe accounts are extracted does not include theſe out-ports. Notice ſhall likewiſe be taken of the

commodities, reſpectively, which compoſe the traffick that is between both countries. You ſhall have likewiſe a particular account of the value of the fine draperies entered for exportation. And firſt, as to the general exports and imports, viz.

			£.	s.
Before the war,	from Mich. 1662, to Mich. 1663,	imports	491376	11
		exports	105216	7
	imports exceed the exports		386160	4
	from Mich. 1668, to Mich. 1669,	imports	501674	16
		exports	178044	15
	imports exceed the exports		323630	1

In this place, as was intimated before upon the head of France, there is wanting an account how matters ſtood between us and Holland from 1669 to 1696: but here follows the firſt five years eſtimate of the ten years trade your precept requires me to lay before you.

A com-

A compariſon of the eſtimate of the imports and exports of the following five years trade to and from Holland, from Chriſtmas 1699, to Chriſtmas 1704, viz.

Imports in the following years,		Eſtimate			Exceſs			Exports in the following years,		Eſtimate			Exceſs		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
from Chriſt. 1699	to Chriſt. 1700	527072	6	2½				from Chriſt. 1699	to Chriſt. 1700	1769282	16	2	1242210	9	11½
1700	1701	521257	16	0				1700	1701	2145186	19	8	1623929	3	8½
1701	1702	486432	2	11½				1701	1702	1686551	18	4	1250119	15	4½
1702	1703	522413	9	7				1702	1703	2417890	0	11	1895476	11	4
1703	1704	756843	3	11				1703	1704	2363775	3	8	1606931	19	9½
	Total	2814018	18	8½					Total	10382686	18	11½	7618668	0	2½

From theſe accounts two points are to be obſerved. 1ſt, That in the years 1663 and 1669, our dealings with Holland were inconſiderable to what they have been ſince the beginning of the firſt war, and ſtill continue to be. 2dly, That in the ſaid two years we brought from thence much more of their commodities than we carried of our product thither, ſo that, according to the vulgar notion, the balance of trade at that time was much to their advantage.

Note, That in the years 1663 and 1669 our exports thither conſiſted but of 45 articles of the rated goods, whereas now the ſaid articles are increaſed to the number of at leaſt 120, or 130, and ſo proportionably in the goods paying at valorem.

In the ſaid years our principal exportations thither were the woollen manufacture, tin, lead, wrought braſs, melaſſes, allum, wrought ſilk, butter, and morkins.

And the principal importations from Holland were linnens, wrought ſilk, thrown ſilk, threads, incles, ſpicery, madder, battery, ſtock fiſh, whale fins, hemp, flax, unwrought copper, Rheniſh wine, ſafflower, and iron wire; of which principal articles the reſpective values ſhall be here inſerted, that you may have before you ſome view of our former dealings with that country.

Exports

Exports, from Mich. 1668 to Mich. 1669.

	£.	s.
Woollen manufactures, at —	79953	10
Tin, 436 C. at — —	1635	0
Lead, 27 fodder, at — —	297	0
Wrought braſs, 828 C. at —	7866	0
Melaſſes, 3334 ton, at —	57510	0
Silk wrought, 1408 pieces, at	3168	0
Butter, 850 firkins, at —	765	0
Morkins, 1026 ſkins, at —	2565	0
Total	153759	10
Whereof the fine drapery or cloths, long, ſhort, and Spaniſh, are 3362 pieces, valued at — —	36752	10

Imports, from Mich. 1668 to Mich. 1669.

	£.	s.
Linnen, at — —	170972	15
Silk wrought, 10,557 lb. at —	23753	5
Silk thrown, 2877 lb. at —	2878	0
Threads, at — —	11694	10
Spicery, at — —	47443	3
Incles, at — — —	11439	10
Battery, 4330 C. at —	38970	0
Stock-fiſh, 233 C. laſt, at —	4194	0
Whale-fins, 4026 C. at —	16104	0
Madder, 10893, at — —	22875	6
Hemp, 2536 C. at — —	6471	15
Flax, 2731 C. at — —	8193	0
Rheniſh wine, 735 tun, at —	39690	0
Safflower, 154,532, at —	6816	0
Iron wire, 1708 hun. at —	9906	8
Total	421401	12

Note,

Note, From the port of London, in the year 1663, there was exported of corn to Holland from hence but to the value of 54*l.* and in the year 1669 none at all. How it ſtood as to tobacco, Eaſt-India, and other re-exported goods, I cannot find, becauſe the old manuſcript annexed to the firſt report takes no notice of any re-exportations.

In the following abſtract of the principal articles of our exports to, and imports, from Holland, you will find, as to the imports, no material difference to what they were in the year 1669; but as to our exports thither you will ſee them increaſed to a very great degree, which I conceive to proceed from the alterations which war has made in the channel of trade.

This honourable board will have before them, annexed to this report, a ſtate at large of the trade between England and Holland for five years, viz. from Chriſtmas 1699 to Chriſtmas 1704; but in the compariſon I am about to make (to avoid prolixity) I ſhall only inſtance the years from 1702 to 1703, wherein, of the five firſt years, our mutual dealings were the largeſt.

Anno

Anno 1703.

An account of the eight principal articles of the Engliſh product and manufacture that were exported to Holland, viz.

	Ton C. qr. lb.	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture, at ——		1339526	4	0
Lead foder, at —	3646 0 1 14	38283	8	0
Wrought braſs, C.	41 2 0 0 at	186	15	0
Melaſſes, nil.	—— ——	0	0	0
Silk wrought, 4221 lb. at ——		7386	15	0
Butter, 2425 firkins, at ——		2364	7	6
Morkins, 13,600, at ——		121	10	0
Tin, 4671—2—0 at ——		17051	2	11½
Total		1404920	2	5½
Whereof the fine drapery, or cloths, long, ſhort, and Spaniſh, are 6643½ pieces, valued at —— —		92807	15	0

Ann. 1669	Total exports of the eight principal articles —	153799	10	0
Ann. 1703		1404920	2	5½
Difference		1251120	12	5½

Among theſe eight articles I have not included corn, which is now ſo large a part of our exportations to Holland, becauſe, in the year 1669, from the port of London, we carried none thither. But I ſhall here take notice, that in the year 1703

there was entered for exportation to the value of, in all ſorts of grain,

		£.	s.
From	London —— ——	12202	15
	Out-ports —— —	168067	0
	Total	180269	15

This exportation has every year increaſed, from 1703 to 1710, as the board may obſerve from the corn account annexed to the firſt report, by which it appears, that in this branch of trade we have in a great meaſure ſupplanted thoſe northern countries from whence Holland was heretofore furniſhed with grain.

So far as to our own native product. What exportation we made to Holland in 1669, of our plantation, Eaſt-India, and other foreign goods, does not appear to me; but I have reaſons to think they might be in proportion to the exports of our product and manufactures, and ſhall now proceed to lay before you an account of ſome of the principal articles of foreign goods re-exported by certificate (in time.)

Anno 1703. Grocery wares.

	C.	qr.	lb.		£.	s.	d.
Almonds ſweet,	855	2	5	at	2138	17	2½
Currants, —	5121	0	27	at	9474	5	11
Ginger dry, —	1471	1	8	at	3200	2	5½
Sugar, ——	30616	3	10	at	99603	8	10
				Total	114416	14	5

Drugs

Druggs vocat.

	lb.		£.	*s.*	*d.*
Balſam natural, —	2265	at —	1812	0	0
Borax refined, —	3080	at —	1078	0	0
Caſſea lignea, —	33409	at —	4454	10	8
Jallap ———	27683	at —	4037	2	1
Muſk —— —	3359¼	at —	3359	5	0
Long pepper, —	16607	at —	2283	9	3
Pincall, ———	59687	at —	13449	11	6
Wormſeed, ——	6265	at —	1409	12	6
		Total	31883	11	0

There are, beſides the aboveſaid druggs, upwards of 40 ſeveral ſorts more exported to Holland, to the value of 16,765*l.* whereof the moſt conſiderable are myrrh, nux, verina, quick-ſilver, ſcammony, ſhell-lake, ſtick-lake, turpentine common, and vermillion.

Wood for Dyers vocat.

	Ton.	*C.*	*qr.*	*lb.*		£.	*s.*	*d.*
Braziletto —	35	16	0	0	at	849	3	0
Fuſtick —	71	2	0	16	at	949	2	11
Logwood —	864	3	3	1	at	12873	17	7½
Redwood —	10	0	0	0	at	545	0	0
					Total	15217	3	6½

Tobacco.

Entered for exportation 7,356,470lb. at ——	143596	16	0½

Wool

Wool vocat.

		£.	s.	d.
Barbary wool, Carmenia wool, Cotton wool, Spaniſh wool	to the value of	7800	3	11½
Yarn { Mohair, Cotton }	to the value of	1783	6	3

The ſeveral articles of the Eaſt-India goods re-exported to Holland, ann. 1703, are too many to be enumerated; but I have annexed to this report a particular ſtate of the value of all Eaſt-India goods, as well prohibited as unprohibited, that were exported to Holland in four diſtinct years, from Chriſtmas 1701 to Chriſtmas 1705, to which the board may have recourſe for their own obſervation; but for the year 1703, both together were valued at 345,647*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* ½. In all ſorts of foreign goods my ledgers keep a particular account of goods exported in time, and out of time, and for the year on which I am now ſpeaking of are as follows:

Anno 1703.

	£.
Total value of the principal articles of the re-exports, by certificate, in time, to Holland —— ——	604652
Total value of the principal articles of the re-exports, by certificate, out of time, to Holland —— ——	37309

And

And is laid before you to ſhew what a prejudice is brought upon the trade of England by the high duties laid upon all commodities, joined with the ſhort and narrow limitations of time allowed for drawbacks upon debentures, in the re-exportation of the ſaid goods. There can be no greater profit to this kingdom than what ariſes from the vent abroad of what our induſtry brings to us from other countries. The high exciſes lately impoſed have rendered arts and labour dear at home, and conſequently raiſed the price of our native product and manufactures; ſo that, when the neceſſity ceaſes among our neighbours, it is probable there will not be the ſame call for them as there has been of late years; for which reaſon, in our future traffick, we muſt not lay our chief dependance upon the exportation of our own product, which will be liable to many accidents, and therefore it is our buſineſs to encourage and make eaſy in foreign markets, as much as poſſible, the ſale of our own plantation goods, the prime coſt whereof comes to us at a low rate, from the fertility and cheapneſs of land, though labour be dear in thoſe parts, till a good ſettlement of the African trade ſhall have made Negroes cheaper. Our plantation goods are not ſo neceſſary abroad as to invite over any conſiderable quantity with a load of duties upon them; and you ſee the article of goods exported (out of time) amounts to but 37,309*l.* whereas, if the merchant had been at liberty to chuſe his own market, his re-exportation had been larger. Tobacco, ſugars, druggs, and wood for dyers, &c. brought from America, and re-exported, are in a manner as profitable to the publick as if the value thereof were brought home in bullion; upon which account the merchant

ſhould

ſhould be freed from all unreaſonable and needleſs reſtraint. But upon this head I ſhall further enlarge, by the by, when I come to open the matter of drawbacks ſo far as to the principal exports from England to Holland; and now as to the imports from thence hither.

Imports, Anno 1703.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen, to the value of —	213701	19	11
Wrought ſilk, 6809 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at	15322	2	6
Thrown ſilk, 12,305 lb. at	15966	0	0
Threads, to the value of —	51138	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Spicery, 113,607 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at —	27469	10	3
Juices, to the value of —	16860	4	4
Battery, 3298--0--0 ——	18961	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stock-fiſh, 10,000 ——	150	0	0
Whale-fins, C. 1136--3--9 at	9094	12	11
Hemp, — 2452--2--0 at	2061	13	6
Flax, —— 4642--2-23 at	8124	14	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Unwrought cop. 2 at	2	0	0
Rheniſh wine, 3673 tun, at	17447	8	7
Safflower, nil.	0	0	0
Iron wire, C. 429--3--0 at	2793	7	6
Madder, 15154--2--1 at	24843	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Value { Brandy, tun 203-1-16 at	6202	13	9
Value { Wainſcot boards, 155,053, at — } —	10490	1	0
Total	440629	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

In ſtating theſe compariſons, to help the reader's memory, I muſt be ſometimes compelled to repetitions.

Groſs

		£.	s.	d.
Groſs importations from Holland, anno	1699	501674	16	0
	1703	522413	9	7¼
Difference		20738	13	7¼

Imports of the principal articles from Holland, anno ———	1669	421401	12	0
	1703	440629	15	2¼
Difference		19228	3	2¼

But to ſet this matter in a clearer light, I ſhall give an account of the whole exports and imports between both countries for ſeven diſtinct years, from Chriſtmas 1698, to Chriſtmas 1705, viz.

From

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
From Chriſt. 1698 to Chriſt. 1699, imported to the value of	512599	4	8½	From Chriſt. 1698 to Chriſt. 1699, entered for exportation to the value of	1456142	1	2½
				Exports exceeded the imports	943542	16	5½
From Chriſt. 1699 to Chriſt. 1700, imported to the value of	527072	6	2½	From Chriſt. 1699 to Chriſt. 1700, entered for exportation to the value of	1769282	16	2
				Exports exceeded the imports	1242210	9	11½
From Chriſt. 1700 to Chriſt. 1701, imported to the value of	521257	16	0	From Chriſt. 1700 to Chriſt. 1701, entered for exportation to the value of	2145186	19	8½
				Exports exceeded the imports	1623929	3	8½

From

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
From Chriſt. 1701 to Chriſt. 1702, imported to the value of	436422	2	11¼	From Chriſt. 1701 to Chriſt. 1702, entered for exportation to the value of	1686551	18	4
				Exports exceeded the imports	1250129	15	4¼
From Chriſt. 1702 to Chriſt. 1703, imported to the value of	522413	9	7¼	From Chriſt. 1702 to Chriſt. 1703, entered for exportation to the value of	2417890	0	11¼
				Exports exceeded the imports	1895476	11	4
From Chriſt. 1703 to Chriſt. 1704, imported to the value of	756843	3	11	From Chriſt. 1703 to Chriſt. 1704, entered for exportation to the value of	2363775	3	8¼
				Exports exceeded the imports	1606931	19	9¼

From

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
From Chriſt. 1704 to Chriſt. 1705, imported to the value of	572216	5	2½	From Chriſt. 1704 to Chriſt. 1705, entered for exportation to the value of	1726711	15	6½
				Exports exceeded the imports	1154495	10	3½

The medium of the ſeven years exports, per ann. is	1937934	7	11½
The medium of the ſeven years imports, per ann. is	549832	1	2½
Difference	1388102	6	8½

From

From the foregoing accounts it appears, that our imports from Holland have continued, for ſeveral years, in a manner at a ſtand, ſeldom exceeding half a million per ann. for we bring from thence but very little more than we brought in the year 1669, viz.

		£.
Imported ann. 1705	———	557216
Imported ann. 1669	———	501674
	Difference —	55542

It is true this account, extracted from the old manuſcript, does not include the out-ports, which would increaſe the article above one-fourth part, whereas our exports to Holland have every year increaſed, and ſome years the exceſs on our ſide has been 1,500,000*l.* but, by a medium of ſeven years, almoſt 1,400,000*l.* per ann. But whether or no this ſeeming over-balance in trade with the Dutch be to the profit of this kingdom, ſhall be impartially examined and ſtated in the ſequel of this report.

If, according to the vulgar notion, this large over-balance had been all clear gain to England, it would have been ſome kind of recompence for the interruptions ſo long a war has brought to other branches of our foreign traffick; but it ſhall be opened to this honourable board, that nothing can be more fallacious, than, becauſe a country takes off more of our commodities than we do of theirs, to argue from thence, that our dealings with that country are always beneficial to us, and that, when this happens, there is a conſtant ſuperlubration on our ſide.

If, for theſe laſt 23 years, the Dutch had ſo far augmented their luxuries as to want, for their

own conſumption, that vaſt bulk of commodities they have conſtantly fetched from this kingdom, and if we had been all along ſo reformed in our manners as to ſtand in little need of foreign goods, Holland muſt have been great loſers, and we great gainers, by the dealings that have been between us.

If they had not found their accounts in the prodigious quantity of effects annually exported thither from hence, and if ſo wiſe a ſtate had perceived itſelf to carry on a loſing trade, they would have put a ſtop to this miſchief, either by prohibitions of, or high duties upon our product and manufacture, for which they had a ſufficient pretence, from the additional impoſitions we have been compelled to lay upon their linnens and other goods; but they have been too prudent to be frighted with the falſe appearance of an overbalance, well knowing the more they brought from hence, the better opportunities they had to enlarge their general trafficks.

When we examine into the particulars of this great exportation, we find moſt of it to conſiſt in commodities not for their own conſumption, but rather to be re-exported. To begin therefore with

The Woollen Manufactures.

Our export of this commodity to Holland was heretofore but inconſiderable, viz, ann. 1663, but 68,199*l.* 11*s.*

		£.	*s.*
Anno 1669	— ———	79953	10
Anno 1703	——— —	1339526	0
	Difference —	1259572	10

Which

Which is well near the whole over-balance we are thought to have in our trade with Holland.

The value of our exports to Holland, in three articles only of the woollen goods, amounts to more than quadruple the value of our exports from London thither (certificated goods excepted) formerly did, viz.

	£.
Anno 1669, the ſaid export ——	178044
Anno 1703, the export of perpetuanas, ſerges and ſtuffs ——	798527

It cannot be well imagined, that, in 34 years, the Dutch are ſo increaſed in numbers of people, wealth and luxury, as to want ſuch quantities of theſe commodities for their own conſumption, over and above what they were wont to call for, from whence muſt follow, That they purchaſe thoſe immenſe cargoes to re-export to other countries, and ſo they are become, in a more extended degree than heretofore, the carriers of our commodities to foreign markets; that is to ſay, they ſupply thoſe parts which we, for want of induſtry, have not embraced, or where our traffick has been interrupted by the war. It is eaſy to prove that, for the laſt 20 years, great parcels of our fine draperies, and other woollen manufactures, went into France through Flanders, by the connivance of governors, and by compoſitions with the French farmers, to the value (as I am well informed, when in Holland about ſix years ſince) of near 300,000*l.* per ann. Since the trade with the Spaniards has been interrupted, they muſt have carried of the ſame goods great quantities to Portugal, otherwiſe how could they diſpoſe of all the baize ſent from hence to Holland, which article of baize, from 1699 to 1704, amounts to, at

a medium of the ſaid five years, 92,526*l.* per ann. a larger proportion than they can poſſibly be conceived to conſume themſelves; and from Portugal it muſt have found its way to Spain and the Weſt-Indies. The ſame may be ſaid of perpetuanas, ſerges, ſays, and other ſtuffs, as alſo of ſtockings, woollen and worſted, for men, women and children. During both the wars, not only the fine draperies, but manufactures from the long wool, got into France from the frontier places, which turned to the profit of Holland; and of late years, ſince they have ſo much enlarged their trafficks, and accumulated ſuch a ſtock of wealth to ſupport their trade, they have carried up the rivers into Germany great parcels of fine cloths, ſtuffs, ſays, and ſerges, which our merchants were wont formerly to export to Hamburgh and other parts of the German empire, upon their own accounts; and if this were not the caſe, and if the Dutch did not carry much of the Engliſh product to Germany, the vaſt tract of that country conſidered, our dealings thither would be much greater than they are, whereas, by a medium of ſeven years, from Chriſtmas 1698 to Chriſtmas 1705, our dealings with Germany ſtood thus:

			£.	
Imports	to the value of		677521	per ann.
Exports			838791	
		Difference	161270	

Which is no conſiderable exceſs from ſo large and populous a country, eſpecially when it is conſidered what quantities of German linnens have been imported hither ſince the firſt war with France, which Germany linnens muſt have been anſwered by an adequate quantity of our woollen manu-

manufactures, if the Dutch did not intercept us in the traffick, by our own commodities from the premiſſes. This honourable board may obſerve, that Holland is no loſer in the over-balance we ſeem to have againſt them between the exports and imports, which over-balance ariſes chiefly from the article of woollen manufactures.

But here may ariſe a queſtion, How far this article of our foreign exportations may be relied on, becauſe of the ſuſpicion of over-entries by the merchants of ſuch goods as pay no cuſtoms outwards, in particular the woollen manufactures? Which point ſhall be handled and ſet in a clear light towards the latter end of this Report.

Tin.

This is another of the commodities which the Dutch take from us to re-export to other countries.

Exported to Holland, viz.

	£.	s.
From Mich. 1662 to Mich. 1663, 21 C. at 3*l.* 15*s.* per C. —	78	15
From Mich. 1668 to Mich. 1669, 436 C. at 3*l.* 15*s.* per C. —	1635	0

Since the war, by a medium of 10 years, exported to Holland, per ann.

	£.	s.
From Chriſt. 1699 to Chriſt. 1709, 5937 C. at 3*l.* 12*s.* per C.	21373	4

The exportation of this commodity, as well as divers others of our native product, has very much increaſed during the whole progreſs of the war; for to all the countries with whom we dealt there was exported,

				Tons.
From Mich.	1662 / 1668	to Mich.	1663 —	153
			1669 —	240

Which the board, from the foregoing 10 years medium, may obſerve to be much increaſed.

		Tons.
Of theſe 10 years	the loweſt was about	865
	the higheſt was about	1375

It is likewiſe obſervable, that, during what may be called the interval of peace, there was no great variation in this export, which was as follows:

				Tons.
From Chriſt.	1698 / 1699 / 1700	to Chriſt.	1699 —	1243
			1700 —	1352
			1701 —	1298

	Tons.
The ten years medium was ———	1094
Three years medium in time of peace was	1297
Medium of the exceſs —	203

It is not difficult to account for the reaſons why our late exportations of tin ſo far exceed thoſe of former times. All our neighbours, as well as ourſelves, are increaſed in the luxurious ways of living; ſuch who heretofore were content with pewter, are now ſerved in plate, and ſuch as made uſe of trenchers, wooden platters and earthen ware, will

will now have pewter: all which is viſible within 40 years, and has occaſioned this great call of a commodity almoſt peculiar to us.

It is probable this exportation has been rather more, than leſs, than in the periods here taken notice of, for the two laſt years, ending at Chriſtmas next, whereof, as yet, no account can be given; but it is to be feared that, at this inſtant, the markets abroad are over-glutted with this material, in which the perſons intereſted in the credits upon tin have, perhaps, of late forced a trade, inſomuch that peace, and a flowing traffick every where, may not probably, for ſome time, enlarge this export, wherewith France and other countries have been ſupplied by way of Holland.

If we have raiſed, and continue to raiſe out of the earth, more tin every year than our home conſumption and the uſes of our neighbours require, we muſt expect to have it become a drug, which will both hurt the Queen in her civil liſt, and, to a degree, prejudice the whole kingdom in its general balance with other countries.

There is yearly more tin made in the kingdom than is taken off by our own home conſumption, or by our foreign vent, which, in the ſix years the Queen's contract is to laſt, muſt needs render this commodity a drug. Upon enquiry, this honourable board will find, that, including the Michaelmas coinage, viz. 428 tons, there will remain upon her Majeſty's hands, unſold, 4659 tons, which peace and a free trade will not be able to carry off in ſeveral years.

As the caſe ſtands at preſent, Holland is the great magazine for tin; the neceſſities of ſuch as have it upon their hands, either as merchandize or ſecurity, drive it thither, and the Dutch ſet what price they pleaſe upon this rich product of England, to the damage of the publick.

To obviate this miſchief, all reaſonable ways ſhould be thought on to promote the conſumption of the metal here at home, whereby the markets abroad will not be over-glutted with it.

If there be ſuch a want among the common people of halfpence and farthings, as is affirmed by all retailers, perhaps it would not be amiſs to ſet on foot a coinage of tin halfpence and farthings, the coinage to be at her Majeſty's expence and to her ſole profit; for experience has ſhewn how unſafe it is to truſt ſuch an undertaking to private hands. This coinage will take off about 1000 tons of the dead ſtock now lying by, and give the remainder a freer vent in foreign markets.

Corn.

There is annexed to the firſt Report, an account of the qualities and quantities of corn that have been entered for exportation, and to what parts, for 11 years diſmiſs, from Chriſtmas 1699 to Chriſtmas 1710, to which I refer the board in any particular enquiry they are pleaſed to make; but crave leave to obſerve, that corn is in a manner a new exportation ariſing to us from the war, which has in other countries ſo employed the hands of their people that they could not till the ground, or from dearths or plagues, wherewith divers nations have been afflicted for theſe laſt 23 years. Formerly we carried grain from the port of London, and but in ſmall quantities, only to Holland, Spain, Denmark, Africa, the plantations, Italy and Portugal; and to all theſe countries,

	£.	s.
For 1662 to 1663, to the value of —	4315	5
For 1668 to 1669, to the value of —	2011	4

Whereas

Whereas now we export grain of all ſorts to Africa, Canaries, Denmark and Norway, Eaſt-Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Madeiras, Newfoundland, Portugal, Ruſſia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Venice; Iſles Guernſey, &c. and Engliſh plantations, by a medium of 11 years,

		£.	s.	d.
per ann.	From Chriſt. 1699 to Chriſt. 1710, to the value of —	274141	10	10
	Whereof, by the ſame medium of the ſaid 11 years, entered for exportation, to Holland in particular, to the value of —	151934	14	3

What part of this commodity is for their own conſumption, and what part they re-export to other countries, does not appear to me; but ſo far is certain,—When corn bears a high price in foreign markets, they ſend large cargoes of it to the places where it finds a good vent; and it has been known, that in years of ſcarcity they bring us back our own wheat, becauſe of the premium we give upon exportation, and which they are enabled to do, by having large granaries almoſt in every great town, wherein they ſtore large quantities in cheap years, to anſwer the demands of other countries. And they will always have the ſame advantage over us, till the wiſdom of the publick here think fit to erect granaries in this kingdom, which will not only be advantageous to our own foreign trade, in the exportation of this commodity, but likewiſe become beneficial to all our manufactures, which muſt be dearly or cheaply wrought.

wrought, as corn comes dear or cheap to the common people. As the caſe now ſtands, the Dutch have too great a ſhare in a plentiful year of corn here; whereas, if (like them) we had publick granaries, the ſuperfluity of ſome years would ſell better in foreign markets, and ſupport our own poor in times of want; and to me it ſeems, that nothing could more contribute to put the general balance of trade always on the ſide of England, than by good œconomy in the publick to keep corn conſtantly at ſuch a rate, as if the price of labour and manufacture may at no time be over-high.

Having made theſe ſhort remarks upon the three principal articles of our native product, whereby our neighbours, from the beginning of the war till now, have made ſuch conſiderable advantages, by re-exporting the ſaid goods to other countries, and by being well paid on both ſides for the carriage, moſt of which profits would have accrued to England, if we had been our own merchants, and exported the ſaid commodities directly from England, as heretofore we did, and if, eſpecially during the laſt war (by letting Holland carry on almoſt a free trade with France, while our hands were bound up) we had not ſuffered that country to be in the nature of a free port, with an univerſal magazine, where all the commercial world had liberty to buy and ſell.

And having opened theſe points, as well as the ſhortneſs of time and the impoſſibility of procuring the facts of trade, for ſome years antecedent to the war, would permit me, I ſhall proceed to make ſome obſervations upon the chief of our plantation and Eaſt-India goods ſent from hence every year to Holland.

Tobacco.

Tobacco.

How the re-exports of this commodity ſtood before the firſt war, does not appear to me from any authentick account or memorial I could ever meet with. There is hereunto annexed an account at large of the tobacco imported into England, in 10 diſtinct years, from Chriſtmas 1699 to Chriſtmas 1709, with an eſtimate of the firſt coſt or value thereof, and an account of the tobacco entered for exportation for the ſame years, diſtinguiſhing the quantities by certificate, in time, and the quantities by certificate, out of time, taking notice of the value in England after the duties are drawn back, in time, and of the value of the tobacco, out of time, which has not the benefit of draw-backs.

	lb.	
The general imports of tobacco, at a medium of the ſaid 10 years, amounts to in quantity --	28858666	per ann.

whereof, re-exported to all foreign ports, by the ſame medium for the ſaid term, in quantity,

		lb.	
By certificate,	in time —	17580107	per ann.
	out of time	17900	
	Total	17598007	

And to Holland in particular,

		lb.	
By certificate,	in time —	7847628	per ann.
	out of time	3529	
	Total	7851157	

Ac-

According to which account our home conſumption appears to be about 11,260,659 lb. per annum.

This product of our plantations, carried to Holland, brings conſiderable profit to that country; beſides that, the manufacturing of it, when there, employs a great number of their people: what proportion of it they conſume themſelves cannot well be ſtated, but ſo far is known, that they mix it with the tobacco of their own growth, viz. for France, one-third inland and two-thirds Virginia, making it finer or coarſer, and adding to or diminiſhing the quantity of Virginia, and making ſome up only with our tobacco-ſtalks mixed with their own leaves, according to the uſe of the country whereunto they export it.

I have ſeen an account, taken in 1706, of the tobacco growing in three provinces, viz. Utrecht, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and part of the dutchy of Cleve, which provinces, ſeven years before, had yielded but eight millions of pounds weight per ann. and they went on, increaſing every year the plantation of this commodity, till, in 1706, they came to raiſe 13 millions of pounds weight, which is near half as much as, by a medium of 10 years, is brought from all our plantations. The account I mention appears to me authentick, and I the rather take notice of it, to ſhew how much it concerns England not to diſcourage this commodity by high duties, or by cramping it in the time allowed for draw-backs.

1ſt, Becauſe it is a plant that may be raiſed in Europe, as well as in America, and it is not impoſſible ſo to improve it as to bring Virginia tobacco out of uſe abroad.

2dly, It

2dly, It is one of our moſt conſiderable re-exportations, and the want of it will be found in the general balance of our trade with other countries.

3dly, Part of the additional duties thereupon laid are funds for ſeveral years, and if the importation ſhould diminiſh, thoſe debts will work off but ſlowly; beſides, her Majeſty will find deficient the funds allotted for the maintenance of her civil liſt.

4thly, If the high duties and other diſcouragements ſhould bring our Weſt-Indian colonies to lay aſide, in any great degree, planting tobacco, they muſt, for a livelihood, turn their labour and land to ſome other uſes very prejudicial to their mother kingdom.

Without doubt, the duties upon this commodity are ſo high, and ſuch as put us in danger in a manner to loſe this importation, ſo profitable to the publick, though it is to be feared a ſmall benefit to the planters, for ſome years laſt paſt; but it is continued for ſo long a term, the fund of ſecurity for ſuch large ſums, that it will be very difficult to propoſe expedients whereby the merchants may be eaſed, and the planter more encouraged. Hereafter, in times of peace, perhaps the wiſdom of the parliament may think it proper either to leſſen the duties, or to bring part of them nearer to the conſumers, ſo that the merchant may pay, at the importation, a due proportion of the duty, and the reſt to be paid by the ſecond buyer, or retailer, at his receiving of his goods; to which may be added, that, generally ſpeaking, when the impoſitions are exceſſive, as in this caſe, where the duties are leſſened the importations will increaſe, and, upon the whole,

the revenues from thence ariſing will be augmented.

Eaſt-India goods.

It is to be wiſhed this honourable board could have an account of the exportations in theſe commodities for four or five years, antecedent to the firſt war, and to what countries they were exported. If this could be obtained, it would not be difficult to find a valuation near the truth of the ſaid goods at that ſeaſon, and from thence a good computation might be made how far, in the general balance of trade, England is a gainer or loſer by this branch of our foreign traffick. As the caſe now ſtands, Amſterdam and Rotterdam are in a manner the magazines for the wrought ſilk, Bengal ſtuffs mixed with ſilk, or herba of the manufacture of Perſia, China, or Eaſt-India, and of all callicoes painted, dyed, printed, or ſtained there, the uſe of which commodities being prohibited here, are chiefly ſent to Holland, this country taking off, by a medium of four years, from Chriſtmas 1701 to Chriſtmas 1705, 94,916*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per ann.

Which goods being bought cheap in the Indies, and ſold dear in Europe, ought to turn richly to the importers account; but it is to be feared our neighbours make a greater profit from them than England, which ſends out its bullion, runs all the hazards of the ſea and by-captures, and is at the expence of forts, caſtles and factories to ſupport this traffick. And our Eaſt-India company muſt deal to this diſadvantage, ſo long as they have, in a manner, but one market for the ſaid commodities; whereas, if they were permitted in our home conſumption, we ſhould ſet the price upon them,

them, and not the Hollanders: and ſince other countries will have theſe ſilks and ſtuffs, it is certainly more national profit that England ſhould ſell them dear than cheap abroad; and as to the price at home, it imports not the nation whether it is high or low, ſince it is among ourſelves.

Whether they interfere or no with our woollen manufactures abroad, ſhall not be here argued; only ſo far may be ſafely advanced, that for theſe laſt thirty years, in which the Eaſt-India trade has been carried on to the higheſt pitch, we are not decreaſed in the manufactures from long wool, but rather the contrary, and to a large degree. Perhaps, indeed, we have not made a proportionable increaſe in the exports of the fine draperies; however, upon the whole, for theſe laſt 23 years, we have no reaſon to complain as to this principal branch of our exportation, if the entries thereof, made by the merchants, are in any degree near the truth. Nor does it appear to me, from any obſervation I can make, that Eaſt-India goods have hurt the general traffick of our woollen manufactures in foreign markets; theſe ſilks and ſtuffs ſeem rather a commodity calculated for the middle rank of people; they are too vulgar to be worn by the beſt ſort, and too coſtly for the loweſt rank, ſo that the uſe of them remains in the middle rank, who (the luxuries of the world ſtill increaſing) would wear European ſilks if they had not Eaſt-India ſtuffs and painted callicoes, whereby the vent of our woollen goods abroad would certainly be leſſened.

The publick ſhould never enter into the endleſs diſputes between merchants dealing to one country and merchants dealing to another, and between the manufactures of one commodity and the manufactures of another, but rather contemplate

what is moſt advantageous to the whole body of the kingdom, and how the general trade thereof may be enlarged, and to lay aſide the narrow notion of ſuch as think to advance the vent of our product, by prohibitions of the goods from other countries; for England never throve by trade but while ſhe was an univerſal merchant, nor can ſhe recover herſelf till ſhe falls into her former courſe of dealings with the commercial world.

There are many ſtill of opinion, that the Eaſt-India trade is prejudicial to this kingdom, by exporting every year ſuch quantities of ſilver; but they do not conſider, that, if our re-exportations of Eaſt-India commodities had not been ſo large to Holland and other countries, we muſt have carried out the ſpecies of money for the payment of our armies in thoſe parts, for the over-balance ariſing from our native product and plantation goods would not have ſufficed; which over-balance in the whole, as noted before, to Holland only,

	£.	
Amounts to, by a medium of ſeven years — — —	1388102	per ann.
Whereof, by a medium of four years, the prohibited and unprohibited goods, of the growth of Eaſt-India, carried to Holland, are valued at	250317	per ann.

And the ſaid goods have not only helped in the remittances for the troops in Holland, but they have been likewiſe helpful in the balance of trade with ſeveral other countries, ſo that all the bullion exported to carry on this traffick is not loſt to England, but, in the circulation of trade, returns with advantage, otherwiſe we muſt have been quite

quite exhauſted, ſome time ago, with this long and expenſive war.

However, if our Eaſt-India commerce has been gainful to us, the Dutch have been ſharers to the profit, and ſo will ever be, ſo long as the prohibition is continued; beſides, their neighbourhood gives them perpetual opportunities of running theſe commodities into all her Majeſty's dominions, whereby they ſell dear what they buy cheap from us, to the prejudice of our trade.

It is ſubmitted to wiſer heads, whether, inſtead of a prohibition, it would not be better for the publick to lay a duty of about 30*l.* per cent. upon the wrought ſilk, Bengals, ſtuffs mixed with ſilk, or herba of the manufacture of Perſia, China, or Eaſt-India, and upon all callicoes painted, dyed, printed or ſtained there, which are for uſe at home, however with ſuch a draw-back only upon the re-export as may not hinder exportation, and yet be ſome bar to running the ſaid goods into ſeveral ports of her Majeſty's dominions; which new duties are propoſed for the following reaſons:

1ſt, So many branches of our conſumption are already engaged, that it is very difficult to find out any ſecurity to anſwer the preſent debts of the kingdom, many of thoſe debts having at preſent no ſettled fund; nor can theſe duties be a burthen upon trade, becauſe they will be in the nature of an exciſe laid upon the conſumptioner.

2dly, To take off the prohibition will encourage the Eaſt-India company (whoſe charter is for a long term of time) to enlarge their trade in the Indies, viz. by making new ſettlements, and by engaging deeper in the coaſt-trade than as yet they have thought their intereſt to do, which will terminate in a greater exportation to thoſe parts,

every year, of the woollen and other Engliſh manufactures, inſomuch that they may come in time to manage this traffick with carrying out of the kingdom but very little bullion; and if they can bring this about, the commodities brought from thence, bought at a low rate, and ſold well in moſt of the foreign markets whereunto we deal, will highly contribute to incline the balance of our trade with other countries to the ſide of England.

3dly, When there ſhall be two ſorts of buyers at the candle, of theſe goods, viz. thoſe who bid by commiſſion from Holland, and our own linnen-drapers and other dealers in thoſe commodities, the Dutch will not have it ſo much in their power to ſet their own price upon them, and London, inſtead of Rotterdam and Amſterdam, will be the great magazine for Eaſt-India wares, as heretofore it was; it being a certain rule, that a people who will be gainers in trade muſt, as much as poſſible, have their general warehouſe at home, and be their own merchants.

The facts relating to ſeveral articles of our exportations to Holland have been here ſtated, to ſhew how wrong their notion is, who pronounce, becauſe we carry more to a country of our growth and manufactures than we bring from thence of theirs, that we muſt always be gainers in the balance of trade with ſuch country. This would indeed hold, if the people with whom we had dealings of this nature conſumed among themſelves all the merchandize exported to them; but, as in the caſe of Holland, where our product and manufactures, our plantation and Eaſt-India goods, are the chief materials wherewith they drive their trade with other nations there, the more of theſe com-

commodities they take from us, the more they enlarge their univerſal traffick, and conſequently increaſe their riches.

Nothing can be more abſurd than to imagine, that the 1,382,102*l.* per ann. the ſum, by a medium of ſeven years, in which we ſeem to over-balance Holland, is all ſuperlucration to England, ariſing from the trade we drive with the Seven United Provinces. If ſuch a real over-balance had accrued, a conſiderable overplus muſt have been every year returned to us in bullion, as heretofore it was in the gainful traffick we carried on with Spain; whereas, on the contrary, we have exported to Holland above four times more gold and ſilver, in the laſt 14 years and 8 months, than to all other European countries; an account whereof follows, viz.

		£.	*s.*	*d.*
Exported to	Holland —— ——	656791	7	3
	Other European countries	140750	0	0

The truth of the caſe therefore appears to be, that, eſpecially during this laſt war (while our trade with France and Spain has been interrupted) large quantities of the woollen manufactures, corn, tin, tobacco, with divers other commodities, have been ſent to Holland, which goods, in the former courſe of trade, we exported directly ourſelves, and moſtly in our own ſhipping, to the increaſe of our navigation, which the war having rendered difficult, and their ports being leſs expoſed than ours to the danger of privateers, as well in ſhips outward as homeward-bound, the Hollanders have, in a great meaſure, got to be the carriers of our goods; but as our exports thither have increaſed all along, ſo our exports to other parts muſt, in proportion, have diminiſhed, and what

we ſeem to have gained by our dealings there, we have loſt in the general balance of our trade with other countries: nor is this large exportation in particular to Holland, for theſe laſt 23 years, to be looked upon as a certain mark that the trade of this kingdom has had a gradual and natural increaſe during the ſaid term, and ſuch a one as it enjoyed 30 or 40 years antecedent to the firſt war; on the contrary, late exports thither ſeem rather forced, and the effects of divers antecedents, many of which have not contributed to our advantage. While navigation to other parts was inſecure, while we had no trade with France and Spain, and while the buſineſs of the war took off our thoughts from trade, and while, at the ſame time, ſuch vaſt ſums were every year to be drawn from England for the ſubſiſtence of the troops abroad, and payment of the ſubſidies, ſuch as were concerned in the remittances thought Holland the beſt market for our native product and re-exported goods, and found it their intereſt to drive thither the whole ſtream of trade, inſomuch that, whereas, in the year 1703,

	£.
The amount of the exports to all foreign parts is valued at ———	6644103
The amount of the exports to Holland ſingly is valued at ———	2417890

Thus almoſt a third part of our univerſal exportation terminates in the country, which will thereby be enabled to govern the trade of all Europe, if the channel thereof does not receive ſome alterations by a peace.

Beſides the neceſſity of remittances to pay the troops, other reaſons have contributed to drive ſuch quantities of our product to Holland, which reaſons,

reaſons, perhaps, will not ceaſe when the war determines. The Dutch, more eſpecially for theſe eight or nine years laſt paſt, have been deeply concerned in all the funds in their own, and in the hands of Engliſh and French merchants reſiding here, and of the Jews; they are known to have conſiderable ſums in the annuities, lotteries, Eaſt-India bonds, ſtocks of the companies, and all the loans that are in courſe of payment, and the produce of ſuch effects lodged here muſt be returned to them either in bullion, bills of exchange, or commodities, which will be a conſtant drain to England, and a weight againſt us in the balance of trade in that country, ſo long as the funds continue.

Whether there will be the ſame demand from Holland for our product and manufactures in time of peace as there has been during the war, is a queſtion few are able to decide. As the caſe has ſtood for ſome time, they have had opportunities ſo to enlarge their traffick, by the means of our materials, as to render them, perhaps, leſs weary of the war than ſome of our neighbours ſeem to be, war being ſeldom a burthen to nations that can ſo conduct their affairs, as in the mean while not to have their foreign traffick obſtructed. It is true, our exportation for 23 years has been very large, but there has been a long gap with our dealings with Spain, where our profit was certain, and from whence there was a conſtant over-balance returned to us in bullion; whereas, what ſuperlucration we may have made between the exports of our goods, and the imports of their commodities from Holland, Portugal, Italy, and other countries, have been intercepted from us by the war, and what overplus we may have made has gone to the payment of the troops we main-

tained upon the ſpot, and the profits ariſing to us from this mighty exportation have ſo fallen ſhort towards ſupporting our whole expences of the war, and carrying on thoſe branches of traffick, which, unavoidably, muſt be managed with the ſpecies of gold and ſilver, as the Eaſt-Land and Eaſt-India trades, that, notwithſtanding the overbalance which the entries inwards and outwards ſeemingly give to England, we muſt, from the beginning of the firſt war, have exported, by degrees, ſo much bullion as has impaired us at leaſt nine millions in that ſort of wealth.

It is to be hoped peace, and a well-eſtabliſhed commercial treaty, will reſtore trade to its former channels, and when this happens, thoſe exportations will find their way to other countries, with more national profit, which lately have been in a manner confined to Holland; and till trade is in this courſe, navigation will at beſt be at a ſtand, and we ſhall not increaſe in our breed of ſeamen.

I have thus opened the principal heads of our dealings to Holland, and, from the premiſes, the wiſdom of this honourable board will beſt determine how the balance of trade has lately ſtood between the two countries, and which nation has probably been the gainer (though the exceſs of trade ſeems to be ſo much on our ſide, and againſt Holland) and I have chiefly inſtanced the year 1703, to avoid prolixity; but the ſame holds in ſeveral years antecedent and ſubſequent.

As to the principal articles of our imports from Holland, in the year 1703, whereof you have already the particulars, amounting in the whole to 440,209*l.* you may pleaſe to obſerve, that moſt of them conſiſt of commodities for our own conſumption, and which contribute very little towards carrying on our traffick with other countries:

tries: it is true, ſome of their materials are uſeful to us in our manufactures; their linnens, which is the higheſt branch of their importation, amounting to 213,701 *l.* are chiefly for our own uſe, and what linnens we export to our plantations are moſtly from the German looms: generally ſpeaking, there is little brought thence which may not as well be had from other countries, and for this this reaſon we may juſtly inſiſt upon advantageous terms in any future treaty of commerce that ſhall be made between us and them. If they object the high duties we have been compelled to lay upon their linnens and other commodities, we may object the ſame to them, for they do, by way of exciſes upon the conſumptioner, impoſe as much upon our commodities as we do upon theirs by our cuſtoms, with this difference, that they raiſe money for the publick in a manner leſs hurtful to trade, and more eaſy to the merchants, than we have yet been able to find out.

But, upon the whole, let us do what we can, the high duties upon our importations will give the Dutch a perpetual advantage in trade over us, till thoſe duties are leſſened by time, or by the wiſdom of parliament, or till the draw-backs upon re-exportations can be ſet upon a better foot.

By the ſtatute of tonnage and poundage upon goods and merchandizes imported, and by other ſubſequent ſtatutes, the merchant, importer, or perſon buying from him, in caſe the ſaid goods and merchandizes ſhall be exported in the times limited by the ſaid ſeveral acts, is entitled to the ſeveral re-payments, or draw-backs, therein mentioned, and not otherwiſe. The inconveniencies from hence to the merchants and the publick appear to be,

1ſt, In caſe the merchant keeps his goods out of time, they can then be ſold only for the home markets, and conſequently are, "pro tanto," of lower value than thoſe commodities which are capable of being ſold for any market, either at home or abroad.

2dly, The merchant, to avoid this loſs, or the riſque of it, exports his commodities in time, to entitle himſelf to the draw-back, for the cuſtoms are ſo high that he will not venture his goods for the home conſumption only, and therefore exports them, though he has no certain cuſtomer for them abroad, and the rather, by reaſon that, if the home conſumption requires ſuch commodities, he can import them again, paying the duties.

3dly, This manner of exporting lays a great charge upon the merchandize, in freight, inſurance, commiſſion, and warehouſe room, which two laſt articles being certainly the advantage of that foreign country whereunto they are exported (which is generally to Holland) and not only ſo, but this neceſſity of the merchants ſo fills that country with our commodities, that they can ſet their own price upon ſuch goods, as they or others want them.

4thly, The merchant, for want of a ſpeedy market, has often occaſion to borrow money upon his goods, which can only be done upon the ſpot where his effects lie. This carries another benefit to foreigners, and whereof they take unreaſonable advantages upon our merchant's elapſing his time of payment.

5thly, The merchant, from this neceſſity, pays his bonds in debentures, and draws that money from the crown, for which intereſt is paid by the publick in the loans, and which would otherwiſe remain with the publick, until he has ſold his goods

goods either for a home or a foreign market; it being likewiſe demonſtrable, that it is better for the merchant to pay intereſt-money to the publick for the term of his bond, which does not amount to ſo much as the extraordinary expences and riſque in ſending them into a foreign warehouſe, beſides that, in general, it depreciates our commodities, when we are thus compelled to clog the markets abroad with them.

After the draw-backs are made, the cuſtoms become in the nature of an exciſe upon home conſumption; it ſeems therefore to be the intereſt of England, and what muſt terminate in making Great-Britain a free port, rather to charge a proportion of the new duties eſpecially on the ſecond vender: but ſince this courſe may not be practicable at preſent, the next beſt expedient to reſtore and preſerve our trade appears to be, that a larger time for re-exportation ſhould be allowed the merchant, (however, not to diſpenſe with the payment of the duties and cuſtoms at the certain times on which they are payable by the reſpective acts of parliament;) nor could I ever meet with any ſubſtantial reaſons to be given againſt this enlargement.

When either of theſe courſes ſhall effectually be taken, no country will have it in their power to ſet their own price upon our goods, and England will be the general magazine for many commodities of foreign growth and product, than which nothing can more tend always to incline the balance of trade of our ſide, and to make this iſland, as heretofore it was, the moſt conſiderable market for bullion.

In

In obedience to that part of your precept which directs me to lay before you in what ſhipping the exports and imports have been made, I humbly crave leave to offer, that my ledgers make a diſtinction as to the ſhipping, whether in Engliſh or foreign bottoms; but the articles both of exports and imports are ſo numerous, that to extract them for any number of years will be the work of much time; I have therefore done it only for one year, between England and Holland, with which year, I believe, the other years held proportion, the grand totals whereof here follow, but a more particular account for the ſaid year you will find in the annexed paper, viz.

			Eng. bottoms. £.	Foreign bottoms. £.
Ann. 1703	imported	to the value of	289844	232568
	exported		1502169	915720

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING thus laid before you ſeveral facts, as I find them ſtated in my ledgers, which are extracted from the entries made by the merchants of exported and imported goods, I now think it my duty to offer a few words in relation to theſe accounts, more eſpecially in regard your precept directs me to take notice, whether I have ſuſpected any ſhort and over-entries have been made of woollen manufactures, and of what quantity and value.

Mr. Culliford's office began from Michaelmas 1696, who put the books in the preſent method: I came in June 1703, and compleated Mr. Culliford's laſt year's accounts. From the 30th of March 1700, the woollen manufactures went out free of duties, and from that time it was viſible there would be a great uncertainty as to the entries outwards of all that ſort of goods, and I did my utmoſt to procure a clauſe in ſome act of parliament to oblige the merchant to a certain and regular entry of thoſe commodities, as well as of others paying cuſtoms, well foreſeeing of what ill conſequences it muſt be to remain in the dark, in ſo material a branch of our exportation, and upon which the general trade of England turns ſo much. In order to prevent this miſchief, a clauſe was offered, and very much inſiſted on in the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Lowndes, but obſtructed by the merchants, for ends not over juſtifiable, and the clauſe was not received.

From the time theſe outward duties were taken off, the merchants have made their entries at pleaſure, as well in the out-ports as in London, but

but generally they have entered greater quantities than were really exported, to carry on ſome myſtery of trade, which, though it might prove of advantage to a few perſons here and there, could never be profitable to the publick, in regard it muſt beget uncertainty in foreign markets, and ſometimes occaſion a want, and ſometimes an overplus of thoſe goods, and it reſults at laſt in a trick of the exporters to deceive one another, at which they would not venture when the commodities had ſuch a duty upon them as the merchant could not afford to play with; but to what value thoſe over-entries might amount is not to be computed, for the proper officers, receiving no duties from thence, keep no perfect regiſter as I can find, and large entries are frequently made, when perhaps leſs quantities are ſhipped off, which indeed are marked in the body of the cocquets by the Queen's ſearchers, but no diſtinct account thereof is kept; ſo that, in free goods, it is impoſſible for me to check, or correct, by the ſearchers books, the entries brought up to my office.

Obſerving what was tranſacted, and finding the article of the woollen manufacture exported ſo much increaſe every year, and ſuſpecting this might proceed from the fore-mentioned cauſe, I had an account drawn up, the copy whereof is hereunto annexed, ſhewing the quantity of the woollen manufactures exported in three years, with the amount of the ſubſidy duties paid thereupon; as alſo the quantities of the ſaid goods entered for exportation in three years after the ſaid ſubſidy duties were taken off, with a computation what the ſaid duties would have amounted to, if the ſame had been continued; from whence the board may make their own obſervations how far

far the entries may be thought to exceed the truth: computing by the duties, it is plain that the three laſt years exceed the three firſt years as follows, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Three years before the duties were taken off, from Mich. 1696 to Chriſt. 1700, the ſubſidy amounted to —	129640	1	3½
Three years after the duties were taken off, from Chriſt. 1700 to Chriſt. 1703, the ſubſidy is computed at —	150892	8	5½
Difference	21252	7	1½

And the outward duties upon the woollen manufacture being 5 per cent. there was entered for exportation in the three laſt years, in woollen goods, to the value of 425,040*l.* more than in the three years before the duty was taken off; but whether or no this proceeds from a real increaſe of our exportations, or from the over-entries of the merchants, as has been obſerved before) is impoſſible to determine: however, finding, as far as my books can be made up, that this exportation is every year larger and larger, and that at the ſame time there is a general complaint all over England, of wool being a drug, I am rather inclined to believe, that there may be over-entries made of the woollen manufacture, not ſo much in the fine draperies, as in the perpetuanas, ſerges, ſays and ſtuffs, which the board may obſerve from the ſix years compariſon hereunto annexed.

If it is thought of any conſequence to the public to have a yearly view before them how the woollen

lenmanufacture ſtands, I cannot ſee how it is be compaſſed, unleſs, by ſome law, the merch: be obliged to make a regular entry of thoſe commodities, and under a penalty, and unleſs, at the ſame time, the proper officers by the ſaid act ſhall be directed to keep an account of the true quantities exported, to which the inſpector-general of exports and imports may have recourſe, in order to check the entries when they are to be paſſed in his ledgers.

At a ſeaſon when there was ſuch a want of funds, as there has been for ſeveral years laſt paſt, and while there was ſuch a neceſſity of loading all the importations to England, it is difficult to find a good reaſon why this ſmall duty of 5*l.* per cent. upon the exports was taken off. They who look upon this proceeding with impartial eyes, muſt eſteem it no better than affectation of popularity; it is true, for the encouraging the exports of your own product and manufactures, they ought to be under eaſy duties outwards, but at the ſame time, for encouraging trade in general, the duties inwards ought not to be ſo high as to render the merchant incapable of carrying on large dealings in the world, and to make the Exchange become a deſerved place; and it is well worth the conſideration of the wiſeſt heads, whether this free export of the woollen goods, and the bounty upon corn exported, be not rather a profit of our neighbours than to the body of this kingdom.

The board will ſee, from the annexed paper, that the duties upon the woollen goods, for the three laſt years, while they paid ſubſidy, by a medium of the ſaid three years, amounted to 43,213*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* per ann.

This

This ſum laid afreſh upon outward goods, and which does not appear to be ſuch a burthen upon trade as the debts of the nation may not render tolerable, would either be a good preſent fund for money, or may come in aid and eaſe of ſome branch of our importation that is over-taxed; and though but half of the former ſubſidy ſhould be laid, it would be a means to prevent the merchant from over-entries, and bring upwards of 20,000*l.* per ann. to the publick.

In that variety of eſtimates that have been here offered to this honourable board, it may reaſonably be aſked, how far the entries and calculations thereof are to be depended on; in which point, without any ſort of diſguiſe, I ſhall deliver my opinion.

As to the entries inwards, I have reaſon to think there is very little difference between them and thoſe accounts in the Cuſtom-houſe, whereby the duties are charged and aſcertained, except where there is allowances made for damaged and defective goods, which is no ſuch article as will make any material change in the general computations.

As to the entries outwards, I doubt the woollen manufactures are not the only inſtance of the merchant's entering more than he really ſhipped off; for though there are ſome difficulties in the practice, yet, for by-ends to himſelf, he now and then makes entries and deſtroys the cocquet. The goods thus entered are perhaps never ſhipped off, and yet the quantities remain in the bills of entry: but an account of all debentures, goods entituled to a drawback, muſt of courſe be kept in the office of the ſearchers, becauſe they teſtify in the ſaid debenture the true quantities ſhipped off. If the

the merchant makes an entry, as I am informed is frequent, when the ſhip or veſſel, mentioned in his cocquet, is not capable of taking the goods aboard, in ſuch caſe he is obliged to make a freſh entry, and take out a freſh cocquet.

This practice begets ſome uncertainty in the entries, however, I have reaſon to think none very material; but the number of clerks, I am allowed, has never been ſufficient to compare and checque the ſaid entries with the ſearchers books, which if I were enabled to do, the ledgers would be as authentick, to all intents and purpoſes, as any accounts of this nature can poſſibly be rendered: and that I might be in a better capacity to perform this ſervice, and for divers other reaſons, in the year 1704 I gave a petition to my lord Godolphin, and a memorial to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, praying for a greater number of hands, as well for the current ſervice, as to retroſpect into the poſture of our general trade, for ſome years antecedent to the firſt year; but the commiſſioners of her Majeſty's cuſtoms did not think fit to make this allowance.

I have annexed to this report the ſaid memorial, to ſhew there is no blame lies on me, if this honourable board does not find theſe accounts in that exactneſs which my natural curioſity leads me to reduce them; and if I am not in ſuch readineſs to lay before them the ſtate of our trade with all other countries, as well as with France and Holland; and ſhall add no more upon this head, but that, if I had been aſſiſted with more hands, you ſhould, by this time, have had an ampler hiſtory of our foreign trade.

As to the valuations upon the reſpective commodities, I have therein followed my worthy predeceſſor,

deceſſor, but have been long inclined to think, that ſome of our own native products have been over-valued, and that time has made ſome alteration in the price of foreign commodities; for which reaſon I have not poſted my ledgers for theſe laſt four years, contenting myſelf with regiſtering all the entries of imports and exports in quarterly books, to which I can have recourſe, and from whence I can extract accounts upon all occaſions, ſtill expecting that peace would fix a more certain price upon all commodities, as well foreign as of home growth, exported and imported.

But ſuppoſe there may be ſome over-entries not corrected and ſet right with the real quantity exported, it does not ſhake the reaſoning part of what has been here offered, only pro tanto as the value of ſuch over-entries may amount to, which, upon the whole, I take to be inconſiderable, except in the goods not paying duties outwards, whereof the entries may be made certain, if the parliament is deſirous to have a true account, from time to time, of the increaſe or decreaſe in the woollen manufactures.

From what has been here laid down, it is evident enough, that though, by a medium of ſeven years, our groſs exportations to Holland have been 1,937,934l. per ann. and though, by the ſame medium, our groſs importations from thence have been but 549,832l. per ann. yet, as to gain, the balance muſt have been on their ſide, becauſe they have not carried from us goods only for their own conſumption, but materials for their commerce with other countries, inſomuch as it may with ſafety be affirmed, that the ſame war, which in ſo many inſtances has impaired England, muſt

have brought a vaſt increaſe of wealth to the body of their people; and of the ſeveral branches of our foreign trade, whilſt ſome of them have been leſſened, and others in a manner quite loſt, they have enlarged their dealings, and daily become richer and ſtronger from our ſupine negligence.

I ſhould not revive antient fears, or endeavour to awaken the thoughts of men upon this ſubject, were not the facts lying before me convincing proofs, that in ſome parts they ſupplant us, in others incroach upon us, and every where outwit us. In the mean time, we have behaved ourſelves like a young man born to a great eſtate, who thinks his condition ſuch, that no expence, and no want of care, can do him hurt, till at laſt his creditors begin to call in for the mortgages they have upon his land, and till he finds his rents will not anſwer the intereſt of what he owes.

A trading country muſt full as much look after the commerce of trade as the buſineſs of the war, otherwiſe the ſinews of the war will ſoon ſlacken; but how far we have ſacrificed our intereſt to other conſiderations, will be ſeen when we have leiſure to look about us, and when peace ſhall have brought us into wiſer and cooler thoughts. To ſuch (and they are not few) as are of opinion that the Dutch have been loſers, and we gainers by the war, becauſe of our great exportations, theſe queſtions ſhould be offered: How comes it to paſs that, for ſeveral years, we have been the borrowers and they the lenders? How have they gained the large effects they have in our annuities, and ſtocks, and all other funds? And whence is it, that, at this inſtant, the Bank of Amſterdam

contains more of the ſpecies of gold and ſilver, than perhaps is current over all the reſt of Europe, when, at the ſame time, it is plain, to thoſe who are not reſolved to ſhut their eyes, that we have nine millions leſs in coin than we had in the year 1688?

After ſo many millions have been expended, to enlarge the fame and glory of this kingdom, and in carrying on a war with land-armies (ſo much out of our proper ſphere, and beyond our natural ſtrength) it will be ſeaſonable to conſider of ſuch ways as may lead to our future ſafety, and repair the loſſes England has ſuſtained, by taking wrong meaſures in the ſupport of this alliance. Our part had been, to have carried on an extended war by ſea, and to have diſtreſſed the enemy in all their ports at home, and on their Weſt-Indian coaſt; and we ſhould, in a larger degree, have left to the confederates the care of their own defence by land. The chief expences of fleets are at home among ourſelves, and keep our treaſure within the kingdom; land armies either carry out money in ſpecie, or, by bills of exchange, intercept the profits ariſing from trade, which is one and the ſame thing, and almoſt equally tends to the impoveriſhment of a nation: beſides that, large ſubſidies always beget long wars, where they who receive can never be ſo ſoon weary of their buſineſs as they that are to pay. By land-armies we enrich other countries; by great fleets we cheriſh and maintain our own people, and protect our trade from the inſults of our enemies, and from the encroachments of our allies and friends.

Without arrogating too much to ourſelves, we may ſafely ſay, and poſterity will be of the ſame

opinion, that the wealth of England has chiefly ſupported the confederate arms, which wealth was the reſult of a long and flouriſhing trade; and what has been exhauſted from us, is no other way to be reſtored, but by taking the ſame courſes whereby it was firſt gotten. It is not to be denied, but our anceſtors were careleſs in many points, and have ſuffered our neighbours to get many advantages over us, which a little vigour in the adminiſtration might have prevented; but in thoſe days, riches flowed in ſo faſt upon us, that many omiſſions in the ſtate may be well excuſed; beſides, the power, firſt of the Houſe of Auſtria, and then of France, was ſo formidable, and the Proteſtant intereſt ſo low, as might reaſonably induce the miniſters of thoſe days to connive at ſome proceedings of other countries, however prejudicial they might be to the commercial intereſt of Great-Britain.

But now Spain, in whatever condition of ſtrength a general peace ſhall leave it, will not, for ſome ages, be able to do us hurt; and it is manifeſt enough, the ſucceſs of the Queen's arms have ſo interrupted the progreſs France was making towards univerſal monarchy, and ſo broken the French forces, that they will be glad, for many years, not to deviate from the paths of peace: ſo that, it is to be hoped the calm, which is like to follow ſuch a long ſtorm, may give her Majeſty's ſubjects opportunities to regain the ground they have loſt in trade.

There is nothing weaker, than pretending to offer particular rules how a country may thrive by foreign traffick: trade muſt be ſuffered to take its own courſe, and will find its own chan-

nel. If merchants are encouraged, if their intereſt is aſſerted with courage in courts abroad, and in all negociations with other countries, and if the duties are not ſo high as to compel men to withdraw their effects from commerce, a nation that has convenient ports, whoſe natural genius leads them to ſea affairs, who abound in ſuch rich native product of their own, and who have ſo many hands working for them in their American plantations, can never fail of acquiring wealth by trade, provided that, by negligent or fearful councils, they do not leave room for their neighbours to wreſt it from them.

As war has been managed, for theſe laſt hundred and fifty years, merely by the power of money, no nation can be accounted ſafe, or miſtreſs of its liberties, that is not in a condition to contend with its oppoſites at the weapon they make uſe of; on the contrary, when it is viſible that the ſtrength of a people is waſted, ſuch a people lies expoſed to the firſt invaders that have gathered wealth enough to fit out new fleets, and raiſe new armies.

They who have been for flattering our diſtempers, and who have reaped their beſt harveſt from publick poverty, will pretend there is as great a plenty of money in the kingdom as formerly; but ſuch as will take the pains to enquire into the condition of our affairs, will find, from facts not to be confeſſed, that our ſpecies of gold and ſilver is very much diminiſhed. It is true, we now have, and all along have had, an extenſive credit; however, England can never be reckoned entirely ſafe, till it poſſeſſes ſuch a quantity of coin as may

be proof againſt any ſudden emergencies of invaſions, new wars, or future breach of treaties, and as may bear ſome due proportion with paper-credit. But this is only to be expected from time and the enlargement of trade, to which the immenſe ſtock we have in paper-credit will contribute; and this ſtock may be well looked upon to be ſo conſiderable, as to enable us hereafter to cope with our wealthy neighbours, it being as transferable as money in the Bank of Amſterdam, and will be thought to have as much intrinſic value, when we have the proſpect of a laſting peace.

But to give theſe things a fixed price, to promote navigation, to encreaſe our ſeamen, to make this kingdom rich in reality, as well as in opinion, and to bring in bullion, all our endeavours muſt tend to the advancement of our trade.

The world is large enough to employ the induſtry and wealth of both nations; and ſince the expence of this long war is like chiefly to terminate in rendering the Dutch ſecure, by a ſtrong barrier againſt the power of France, they cannot, by the rules of equity, complain of any meaſures we ſhall hereafter take for our own preſervation, and to recover thoſe branches of our traffick which the war has either loſt or interrupted.

It would be too tedious here to take notice, in what parts of foreign trade we have, from time to time, been ſupplanted by our neighbours, and particularly ſince the very time our arms and councils have been chiefly employed in maintaining the common cauſe; but, as occaſion ſhall offer itſelf, in treating of the

the dealings between England and other countries, I ſhall, in obedience to their precept, lay what has occurred to me before this honourable board.

It is not reaſonable to differ with another country becauſe their conduct has been better and wiſer than yours; but we are to correct our own errors by their wiſdom: our future buſineſs, therefore, will be to oppoſe induſtry with induſtry, and to ſet up tenaciouſneſs, in what relates to intereſt againſt the ſame principle, when we ſee it is in others the only rule whereby they govern all their Actions.

When we find our neighbours enterprizing, vigilant, and jealous in whatever has relation to their trade; and when we obſerve them ſtill endeavouring to get ground, and never yielding any point to us, but forming long ſchemes, calculated to take effect many years to come, in order to enlarge themſelves at our expence, it will become good patriots to look about them, and to take care leſt in time England ſhould be in a manner excluded from the commercial World.

Whenever we loſe our trade, we muſt bid farewel to that wealth and ſtrength which have hitherto enabled us to preſerve our liberties, againſt the deſigns of Spain and France, the two greateſt monarchies that have been erected ſince the declenſion of the Roman empire; want of due circumſpection in a point ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of this kingdom, may, perhaps, in leſs than an age, reduce us to be the prey of ſome conquerors, notwithſtanding our large eſtates in land, the fertility of our ſoil, the richneſs of our product, and the convenience of our

ports, which natural advantages, if not well made uſe of, and directed, inſtead of becoming a defence, are rather ſo many motives to invite over invaders of a country which ſuffers its naval ſtrength, the effect of trade, and of trade only, ſo to languiſh as to be no longer in a poſture to defend itſelf.

From what has been opened in the whole Series of this report, the board will be the beſt judges, whether the Engliſh or Dutch have been gainers in the balance of thoſe vaſt dealings that of late years have been between us: the facts have been here ſet down with ſincerity and truth, in which it is humbly left for others to determine.

But if we have been loſers there, or if there is a ſenſible decay in other branches of our traffick, proper remedies ſhould be applied to a Diſeaſe that may grow ſo fatal to a commonwealth.

If Holland is become, in too extenſive a degree, the warehouſe and general-magazine of our corn, plantation, and Eaſt-India goods, it is not impoſſible to obviate that miſchief.

1ſt, By encouraging the erection of public grainaries in ſeveral parts of this kingdom.

2dly, By enlarging the time for drawbacks on tobacco, ſugars, and ſeveral other American commodities.

3dly, By taking off the prohibition that now lies upon the Eaſt-India and Perſian ſilks and ſtuffs, and not to drive them thus to Amſterdam and Rotterdam: perhaps an experiment of four or five years would plainly demonſtrate that the wear of them would not ſo much hurt us at home in the conſumption of our woollen manufactures, as the vent of them abroad interferes

feres with the ſale of our woollen goods in foreign markets.

To be in a laſting condition to cope with the Dutch in trade, we muſt, as well in time of peace as war, have a fleet in readineſs ſtrong enough, upon all occaſions, vigorouſly to aſſert our dominion of the Sea: trade has been ever obſerved to follow power, and to be influenced by it. That nation which has the beſt navy will have the moſt merchant-ſhips reſorting to it for profit or protection; and in ſuch a poſture you are courted by your friends, and terrible to your rivals. No profeſſion of men ſooner feel the effects of national increaſe, or decreaſe in reputation, than merchants. If your country is thought weak, declining, and afraid to reſent injuries, you are oppreſſed and over-borne by all that have dealings with you, who are apt to deſpiſe the baſe, though they get by them; on the contrary, when a nation is eſteemed powerful, and tenacious of the point, as well of honour as of intereſt, they are countenanced by princes, let them be never ſo remote, their factors every where commanding the market. And it is remarkable, the French could never obtain to have the buſineſs of their commerce well ſettled at the Ottoman-Porte, till the year 1673, when their ſucceſſes made ſuch a noiſe throughout Europe. The fame of England has been advanced to ſuch a height, during the laſt War, that the trading men will hereafter taſte their proportion of benefit by it, if our maritime affairs are not neglected.

The way to retrieve what we may have loſt, is not to offer affronts, or to make ill-grounded cavils, or to renew abſolute pretenſions, much

leſs

leſs to come to an open breach with any of our neighbours. We ſhould rather endeavour to reſtore our trade to its former condition, by ſtrong and ſteady councils, ſuch as may demonſtrate to the world, that we are rather deſirous to preſerve ourſelves than to diſturb others; and ſo to temper our proceedings with thoſe between whom and us future diſputes may happen to ariſe, as to give conſtant proofs, that we can adhere to national intereſt, without making any ſtep prejudicial to the common concerns of religion, which ſhould always link together Great-Britain and the United Provinces; but at every turn to ſacrifice the national intereſt to what folly, or faction, is pleaſed to call the common-concern of religion, rather argues fear and weakneſs in the ſtate, than the piety and wiſdom in the rulers.

When our neighbours are plainly diſcerned to engroſs any foreign buſineſs, though to our prejudice; this working by the rules of juſtice, can never be deemed a ſufficient ground of quarrel: For trade in ſome ſenſe, is Fere nature et primi occupaulis; and whenever we neglect any branch of it, it becomes a derelict, which the firſt approacher may legally take into his own poſſeſſion: however, let ſuch tranſactions be called incroachments, or unkind intruſions, they ſhould always be compoſed in ſuch a friendly manner, as to avoid an immediate breach, and to prevent ſowing the ſeeds of future wars.

It would be thought abſurd if one neighbour ſhould differ with another, for being more frugal, vigilant, active, and conſequently to thrive better than himſelf: on the contrary, he is to emulate this man, and as near as poſſible, to ſquare his

his own actions by thoſe rules which he finds have made the other proſperous: this likewiſe holds between countries that are rivals in the ſame myſteries; and if you will ever pretend to out-do the Dutch in trade, we muſt practice ſeveral of their virtues, and lay aſide many of our own vices.

It is not yet come to my knowledge what extent of territory, or addition of people, the late conqueſts in Flanders (ſecured by the treaty of barrier) have brought to Holland, nor am I well enough apprized, of the nature of the ſoil, to form any conjecture, how far their new acquiſitions may diſpoſe them to interfere with us in the woollen manufactures; but this muſt be evident, that nothing was wanting to compleat the greatneſs of this nation but elbow-room for their induſtry to work in; if the ſoil or turf be proper for the breed of ſheep, or if their new dominions lie contiguous to countries from whence wool may now at preſent or hereafter, be fetched: this dangerous competition in a commodity upon which the kingdom ſo much depends may give England very juſt fears.

It may not be amiſs in this place to ſhew the board what a proportion the woollen manufactures bear to all other exports whatſoever, and in this compariſon I ſhall pitch upon a year before the ſubſidy duties were taken off, and which therefore is leſs liable to the ſuſpicion of falſe or over-entries.

Our

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Our general exports for the Year 1699, are valued at——	6,788,166	17	6½
Whereof the woollen manufactures for the ſame year, are valued at——	2,932,292	17	6½

From this account, which in all probability may be relied on, it appears that our woollen goods are above a third of our univerſal exports: nor is it neceſſary to urge any other arguments to prove how much it concerns England to be jealous in this point, and watchful over this ſtaple, wherein any conſiderable decay would affect the whole body of the people. It is difficult to judge how far a populous and fertile country, ſo abounding in ſhips, and whoſe inhabitants are frugal and induſtrious, and who have formed ſuch a powerful dominion, as is now compoſed by the addition of ſo large a part of Flanders, to the ſeven United Provinces, may carry the improvement of this commodity, eſpecially ſince it daily grows more and more viſible than other countries, beſides her majeſty's kingdoms, afford wool proper for common uſe: and where there are ſuch numbers intent upon, and ſubſiſting by manufacture, they will eaſily find materials for it.

But though our neighbours ſhould continue to prefer the intereſt of their trafficks to all other conſiderations, and though they ſhould perſiſt to enlarge their foreign buſineſs to our detriment, yet the miſchief is yet without a remedy, and it will always be within our power to give ourſelves ſatisfaction for any injuries of this nature they ſhall be obſerved to offer, and this may be done

done without coming to any of thoſe extremities, to which commonly nations have recourſe, where one is ſeen to undermine the other.

Firſt of all upon the ſettlements of a peace, in all future treaties of commerce we ſhall make with other countries, we are to fence particularly againſt the arts and incroachments of the Dutch, who, beyond all diſputes, are our moſt dangerous rivals in trade; we muſt bear a watchful eye over all their proceedings, and never yield to them in any point wherein national intereſt and profit is concerned; nor can the princes confederated in this long war juſtly find fault with ſuch conduct, ſince the heavy load of debts lying upon us conſidered, it will be as impoſſible for England to ſubſiſt under any great decay of the woollen manufacture, or under any conſiderable interruption in ſeveral branches of our foreign commerce, as it would be impoſſible for the Duch to maintain themſelves without their herring fiſhery, or that part of their Eaſt-India trade they now ſtand poſſeſſed of; ſo that if they will not be contented to live and let live, and bear themſelves towards us hereafter in a friendly manner, and ceaſe to undermine us in every part of the commercial world, we muſt reſort in the declenſion of our wealth to that relief, which the Britiſh ſeas at all times will have ready for us; and we muſt in good earneſt undertake the herring fiſhery, which will give full employment as well to the rich as to the poor. I ſhall here add ſome words of the judicious writer Mr. Muns.

I will deliver my opinion concerning our clothing, which although it be the greateſt wealth, and beſt employment to the poor of this kingdom, yet nevertheleſs we may, peradventure, employ our-

ourſelves with better ſafety, plenty, and profit in uſing more tillage and fiſhing, than to truſt ſo wholly to the making of cloth, for in times of war, or by other occaſions, if ſome foreign princes ſhould prohibit the uſe thereof in their dominions, it might ſuddenly cauſe much poverty, and dangerous uproars, eſpecially by our poor people, when they ſhall be deprived of their maintenance which cannot ſo eaſily fail them, when their labours ſhall be divided into the ſaid diverſity of employments, whereby alſo many thouſands would be the better able to do good ſervice in occaſion of war, eſpecially by ſea.

It would not be difficult to prove, that notwithſtanding the difference of intereſt money between 4 and 6 per cent. our ſituation and other natural advantages will at all times render us ſuperior in this trade, now more eſpecially, that England and Scotland are united; for before the union, it could never be properly ſaid we had a herring fiſhery.

Mr. Muns, who wrote not long after the reſtoration, and always ſtates his facts with great fidelity, values the exportation of fiſh in his time at 140,000l. per annum, but our preſent accounts fall ſhort of this ſum. It is true, by a medium of five years from 1696 to1701, incluſive, the exports of fiſh amounted to 132,849l. per annum; however, this account was not natural, but rather ſeems to have proceeded from the great drawbacks allowed them upon ſalt, for till that way of deceiving the public began to be put into practice, which was about 1698, the entries amounted to but about 52,400l. per annum, and began again to diminiſh, when ſome regulations were made in the ſaid drawbacks, ſo that from 1699 to

to 1709, the medium of exportation for the ſaid 10 years, has been 77,115l. per annum, which is little more than half of what was exported 50. years ago: it muſt indeed be granted, that ſeveral of our neighbours have enlarged their fiſhing for cod; but whether they have not made this improvement by our negligence is left for others to determine.

I ſhall not at preſent farther enlarge upon this ſubject, deſigning in ſome other report to lay the fiſhing-trade before this honourable board; but in regard this may happen to be the ſubject of debate in parliament, I have hereunto annexed an account of the quality, quantity, and value of all ſorts of fiſh exported from England, and to what parts beyond ſea, for ten diſtinct years.

The variety and intricaſy of this ſubject have rendered this report longer than I expected, for which, I ought to aſk the pardon of a board whoſe time is taken up in matters of ſo much more importance than I am able to lay before them.

All which is humbly ſubmitted by

Charles Davenant.

Inſpector General's Office,
December 10, 1711.

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